THE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF PAUL THE APOSTLE

LEMUEL DILMORE WOOD, M.A.

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THE LIFE AND MINISTRY
OF
PAUL THE APOSTLE

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BY

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PREFACE

WORKERS in all branches of historical study to-day agree that the only right way to seek for the truth about a person or a period is to search carefully for the best sources of information and to interpret them conscientiously and intelligently. The modern student of Biblical history realizes keenly that he will get near to the truth only if he asks continually as he works, What do my best sources say? What do they indicate? He knows that it is his duty to set forth as history only a fair answer to these questions. Imagination, of course, is indispensable to anyone who would tell the story of a far away time, since the sources of information are never complete, but imagination is worse than useless unless it is chastened by all the facts available. In any reconstruction facts must be used for the fundamental elements and imagination only for the cement and finishing.

Now this scholarly method and criterion is rapidly becoming the standard of the people, who read history and biography. Bible readers, especially, are asking to share not only the conclusions of the scholars, but the evidence upon which they build. Let us know clearly, they demand, which of your conclusions are

based upon actual evidence and which are the result of your trained imagination. Show us your sources and your reasons, that we may see and think for ourselves.

It is the hope of contributing to this inspiring demand that has led to the writing of this book on Paul, the problems of whose life and work, though difficult, are worth careful study, since they give an insight into the qualities of his powerful personality which is sure to prove an inspiration.

ELEANOR DENSMORE WOOD.

Rome, Italy,
November, 1912.

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INTRODUCTION

THOSE who have read and enjoyed Eleanor Wood's "Story of the Prophets," will be prepared to give a warm welcome to her book on "The Life and Ministry of Paul." No words of commendation are really needed, for this sketch of the great apostle will readily win readers for itself. The same scholarship, the same simple directness of style, and the same quickness of sympathy are at our service here to enable us to appreciate Paul, as in the former book helped us to understand Amos, Hosea and the other great heroes of Hebrew prophecy.

I have said "the same scholarship is at our service here," but I might have said, "still greater scholarship," for unless I am much mistaken Miss Wood is even more interested and at home in New Testament study than she is in the Old Testament field. Yet the important thing is that both books embody the same spirit of reverent and enlightened criticism. It is even more desirable that Miss Wood's readers should catch something of this spirit than that they should accept her conclusions. We need more of the temper of true scholarship if our study of the Bible is to bear lasting fruit. Criticism and devotion must either heartily co-operate or disastrously cripple one another. M. Paul Sabatier, speaking of America, says that "the outstanding fact in religious life there is the increased critical knowledge of the Bible among scholars, and the declining popular knowledge of the Scriptures." What

is true of America, is largely true of England also. The Bible is less read than it used to be. It is a commonplace among public speakers that Biblical allusions are much less readily appreciated than they were in the days of Bright and Gladstone. This is not merely a handicap for orators: it is a misfortune for faith. There is, in my judgment, but one remedy. If we are to restore men's interest in the Bible, they must be encouraged to handle it with the fearless candour that characterizes this Adult School Study Series. As a movement, we are committed to the attempt to wed criticism and devotion in the mind of the people, and only thus will the Bible retain its central place in the life of our Schools and in the religious life alike of the individual and the nation.

It is particularly happy that the second volume of this new series should be devoted to the study of St. Paul. For we are still much influenced by the tendency to relegate St. Paul to a back seat. Towards the close of the nineteenth century there was a strong reaction from Pauline theology. In his great book on "Christ in Modern Theology," the late Dr. Fairbairn commented on the change that had come over the typical ministerial library. Systematic treatises on the doctrines dear to Paul, the doctrines of the Fall and Redemption, of Justification and Sanctification, were displaced to make room for lives of Christ, and books on the teaching of Jesus. The cry was "Back to Christ!" and it meant, let us get behind the theological interpretation of St. Paul, to the historic figure of Jesus. We are not to be bound by what Paul taught about Jesus, but by what Jesus himself taught. Let us ignore the obscure and intricate doctrinal discussions of the letter to the Romans and get back to the ethical simplicities of the Sermon on the Mount. We do not need Paul's doctrine of the

Atonement, when we can find the gospel of forgiveness in the parable of the Prodigal Son. The Adult School Movement shared and shares this attitude of mind. The watchword of many is "Less dogma, less doctrine, and more practice," and we really mean, "Away from the doctrine of Paul, and back to the ethics of Jesus."

That there is much that is healthy in this revolt from Pauline theology, is undeniable. At the same time it is manifestly less than just to Paul himself. Miss Wood's book begins to restore the balance, first of all, by rescuing St. Paul from the hands of the theologians. So long as St. Paul is regarded first and foremost as a theologian, we are on our guard ; we are a little chary of making his closer acquaintance. But even when we have no use for the theologian, it is difficult not to be interested in the man. When St. Paul is discovered as an artisan who could not always keep himself above the poverty line, and when he is found to be most at home in the bustle of the city, and, if one may use such an expression, rather at sea in the country, then in his interests and in his very limitations, he comes closely into contact with modern conditions. When further his epistles are seen to be, not doctrinal treatises, but genuine letters, not the systematic work of a dogmatic theologian, but the passionate thinking of a missionary-hero, grappling with moral difficulties in the lives of the converts he loves, and fighting for religious convictions which alone seem to him to promise salvation, then we begin to have some inkling of the real human interest involved in much that seems obscure and tedious. Yet again when we win some insight into the unique inner life of this man, and see him laying bare the most sacred secrets of his heart to help his fellows, then, as we realize the mystic, even if we do not understand, we reverence.

This little handful of letters has become a temple of God. In her book Miss Wood, I think wisely, has dropped the word " saint " before " Paul." Not because the word is inapplicable, but in order that the reader may replace it, not in obedience to convention, but as the result of conviction.

The way of approach to the study of St. Paul adopted in this little book enables us to appreciate him as a man, a hero, and a saint, without feeling obliged to take upon ourselves the full yoke of his theology. As one reads these pages, one realizes how much St. Paul derived from his Jewish inheritance and from the world around him. He was decidedly a man of his own time. Modern scholarship tends to discount some of Paul's doctrines and many of the forms in which his thought is cast, on the ground that such doctrines and forms of thought belong to his Pharisaic training, or to peculiarities of the first age of Christianity, which are no longer authoritative for Christian thinking. Miss Wood is in sympathy with this side of modern scholarship. And even if many scholars are sometimes inclined to carry this process of discounting too far, yet in principle the attempt to distinguish between ideas and expressions which St. Paul accepted as part of Jewish and Christian tradition, and ideas and expressions which are vitally connected with his central Christian experience, seems to me to be thoroughly justified. For example, it is clear that St. Paul adopted towards the Old Testament the uncritical attitude characteristic of the religious culture in which he was brought up. It was perfectly natural for him to contrast Adam with Christ, to connect the story of the Fall with the doctrine of Redemption. This helped him to interpret to himself and to others the wonder and the scope of Christ's work, the meaning of

redemption. But it must always be remembered that what he says about the redeeming work of Christ is his endeavour to explain his most real and spiritual experience, while what he says about Adam and the Fall springs out of no special revelation, but reflects the ordinary assumption of his Jewish education. The application of this is obvious, but important. It is sometimes said that the doctrines of the Fall and Redemption are inseparable. Nothing of the kind, since St. Paul's thought about redemption is bound up with his own experience, and his doctrine of the Fall is bound up with his Jewish inheritance. Sin does not cease to be sin, and St. Paul's conviction that the gospel is the power of God unto salvation, does not cease to be true, because in setting forth the gospel St. Paul, as a matter of course, assumed the historicity of Adam, and accepted an account of the origin of sin which certainly cannot be literally believed.

Roughly speaking, we have to-day substituted the study of the religious experience of St. Paul for the elaboration of his theology, and we use the experience as a test for discriminating between what is passing and what is permanent in the theology. Doctrines that are simply part of an old-world tradition we discard. Old thoughts that were revitalized, and new thoughts that were suggested by St. Paul's central experience, we may suspect to possess a lasting value.

Everything then turns on the validity of St. Paul's religious experience. And here we have to face an objection, on which I may be allowed to say something, as Miss Wood has touched but lightly upon it. Are we justified in attaching any value to the religious experience of this man? He was certainly a visionary and probably an epileptic. His exalted Christ in whom he

trusts may have been merely the creation of a sick man's fancy. His so-called religious experience is just a series of hallucinations. That St. Paul was the victim of his illusions, is no reason why he should victimize us. This is the kind of demurrer put in by Mr. F. C. Conybeare in his "Myth, Magic and Ritual." What is to be said to it?

Let us begin by admitting the facts. Miss Wood recognises fully the part played by visions in the life of St. Paul, and his very capacity for visions suggests that he was in some degree an epileptic. But does this suggestion at all account for the man and his visions? There is a curious theory abroad that the worth of a man's work can be absolutely discounted if a man can be shown to have epileptic traits. The theory appears in its naked absurdity in Max Nordan's "Degeneration," where the pre-Raphælite painters, Ruskin, Tolstoi, and nearly all the great men of the nineteenth century are written down as hopeless degenerates. Now genius does not cease to be genius because it dwells on the verge of insanity. For aught we know, a tendency to epilepsy may be the condition of inspiration. It is undeniable that many of the greatest achievements in art and literature and practical life have been the work of men of this type. We have every reason to believe God uses such men to great ends. You cannot dismiss St. Paul by calling him an epileptic. If he was beside himself, most emphatically it was to God.

Moreover, while his power to see visions may be connected with some physical defect, this obviously did not occasion the visions he actually had. We have still to explain the character and content, particularly of the supreme vision on the Damascus road. We have still to account for the strength

and influence of that transforming experience. Above all, we have still to reckon with the interpretation and the value St. Paul set upon it. The important thing is not what we make of the visions, but what the vision made of St. Paul. By that vision God changed the current and purpose of his life. St. Paul knew that God had called him. That made him a missionary. He knew that God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself. That gave him a gospel. I do not think we shall make much progress by ignoring this man's fundamental convictions. At least we need to share his experience. God called him to the ministry of reconciliation. Has He called us? The love of Christ overmastered St. Paul. Has the love of Christ overmastered us?

H.G.W.

Good Friday, 1913.

THE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF PAUL

CHAPTER I

SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF PAUL

For knowledge of Paul we have the best possible sources, namely, some of Paul's own letters. True letters might be called cross-sections of actual life, since they enable one to look directly into the complex of thoughts and feelings that are the expression of the personality of the writer. A collection of letters to different people offers the best means of making the acquaintance of a person with whom one cannot speak face to face. In Paul's letters we can come into touch with many sides of his personality; we can see what things moved him to indignation, sorrow or joy, and which interests were primary in his life.

We are especially fortunate, too, in having definite evidence in the discoveries of recent years that Paul's are true letters; not formal epistles. In the first century, all over the Roman Empire, the public documents, various kinds of literature, letters, etc., were written on papyrus sheets made from strips of the pith of the papyrus plant pasted together.[1] The papyrus was very brittle, and therefore easily perished except under special conditions. Now the only place where Nature provided conditions for preserving the papyri was in

[1] For more detailed description of the making of papyri see Gregory's "Canon and Text of the New Testament," or Deissman's "Light from the East," or Milligan's "Commentary on Thessalonians."

Egypt. There the dry sand received the fragments of books, letters and other writings, that were thoughtlessly thrown away, and buried them safely. Thus it came about that for centuries all knowledge of the letter-writing common in Paul's day, and, indeed, of the language of the common people, was lost. People, therefore, thought that the language of the New Testament was "the language of the Holy Spirit found in the sacred writings and never profaned by common use,"[2] and that the letters of Paul were peculiar theological documents. But now that enterprising excavators have unearthed thousands of papyri preserved by Mother Nature in Egypt, we know that the New Testament was a book written for the common people in the language of the market-place and the home, and that Paul's "epistles" are true letters written in the forms and language common among the people to whom he wrote.[3]

Here are a few titles indicating the contents of some of the discovered letters showing from how wide a range of life they come: Petition to the King; letter concerning a strike of the slaves working in a stone quarry; public notice of the loss of sheep; a declaration on oath that certain Syrian cloths were lost by the sinking of the ship; letter to a public official authorizing him to pay certain weavers of cloths (this and other letters indicate that the weaving business was managed by the government); letter about the priestly revenues; letter concerning the export duty on two jars of wine; letter concerning the sale of wheat; letter about the payments of the physician tax; receipt for tax levied

[2] Quoted in Moulton's "Grammar of New Testament Greek," p. 3.

[3] It is possible that Romans, Colossians and Ephesians should be given the more formal name "epistle," but their more formal character is due chiefly to the fact that they are written to people with whom Paul is not acquainted personally. "True letters" are written to specific people; epistles are literary productions for circulation put into the letter form.

for maintenance of public baths; account of a government post office official; a banker's account; account of taxes on sacrifices and wool;[4] a marriage contract; a deed of divorce; a notice of death; a will; an invitation to a festival; preparations for a Roman visitor; invitation to a dinner; question to the oracle, etc., etc., etc. These documents from everyday life contain many words hitherto thought to be peculiar to the New Testament.

Furthermore, many of the letters show how perfectly natural Paul's letters must have seemed to those who received them. As examples of the letters here are four: (1) a letter of remonstrance from a father to a son; (2) a letter of a dutiful son who has recently left home; (3) the letter of a rather impudent little boy to his father; (4) the letter of a repentant prodigal son to his mother.

(1) First century A.D.

"Hermocrates to Chaeras his son, greeting. First of all I pray that you may be in health . . .[5] and I beg you . . . to write regarding your health, and whatever you wish. Already indeed I have written regarding the . . . and you neither answered nor came, and now, if you do not come, I run the risk of losing the lot (of land) which I possess. Our partner has taken no share in the work, for not only was the well not cleaned out, but in addition the water-channel was choked with sand, and the whole land is untilled. No tenant was willing to work it, only I continue paying the public taxes, without getting back anything in return. There is hardly a single plot that the water will irrigate. Therefore, you must come, otherwise there is a risk that the plants perish. Your sister Helene greets you, and your mother reproaches you because you have never answered her. Especially security is demanded by the taxgatherers because

[4] These titles are taken from Vol. I. of the Hibeh Papyri, and those which follow from Milligan's "Greek Papyri."

[5] The spacing indicates where the papyrus is broken.

you did not send the taxgatherers to you (?); but now also send to her. I pray that you may be well. Pauni 9.

" (Addressed) Deliver from Hermocrates to Chaeras his son."

(2) Second century A.D.

" Apion to Epimachus his father and lord heartiest greetings. First of all I pray that you are in health and continually prosper, and fare well with my sister and her daughter and my brother. I thank the lord Serapis that when I was in danger at sea he saved me. Straightway when I entered Misenum I received my travelling money from Cæsar, three gold pieces. And I am well. I beg you, therefore, my lord father, write me a few lines, first regarding your health, secondly regarding that of my brother and sister, thirdly that I may kiss your hand, because you have brought me up well, and on this account I hope to be quickly promoted, if the gods will. Give many greetings to Capito and to my brother and sister, and to Serenilla, and my friends. I send you a little portrait of myself at the hands of Euctemon. And my (military) name is Anton(i)us Maximus. I pray for your good health.

" Company Athenonike."

" Serenus the son of Agathos Daemon greets you . . . and Turbo the son of Gallonius and. . .

" (Addressed) To Philadelphia for Epimachus from his son Apion."

(3) Second or third century A.D. (Can be seen in the Bodleian library at Oxford.)

" Theon to Theon his father, greeting. You did a fine thing! You have not taken me away along with you to the city! If you refuse to take me along with you to Alexandria, I won't write you a letter, or speak to you, or wish you health. And if you do go to Alexandria, I won't take your hand, or greet you again henceforth. If you refuse to take me, that's what's up! And my mother said to Archelaus, ' He upsets

me; off with him!' But you did a fine thing! You sent me gifts, great ones, husks! They deceived us there on the 12th, when you sailed. Send for me then, I beseech you. If you do not send, I won't eat, won't drink. There now! I pray for your health. Tubi 18.

"(Addressed) Deliver to Theon from Theonas his son."

(4) Second century A.D.

"Antoni(u)s Longus to Nilous his mother many greetings. Continually I pray for your health. Supplication on your behalf I direct each day to the Lord Serapis. I wish you to know that I had no hope that you would come up to the metropolis. On this account neither did I enter into the city. But I was ashamed to come to Karamis, because I am going about in rags. I wrote you that I am naked. I beseech you, mother, be reconciled to me. But I know what I have brought upon myself. Punished I have been in my case. I know that I have sinned. I heard from Postumos who met you in the Arsinoite nome, and unreasonably related all to you. Do you not know that I would rather be a cripple than be conscious that I am still owing anyone an obolus . . . come yourself . . . I have heard that . . . I beseech you . . . I almost . . . I beseech you . . . I will . . . not . . . otherwise. . .

"(Addressed) To . . . his mother from Antonius Longus her son.[6]

One has only to put beside these letters some of the phrases from Paul's letters to see that he used the common forms for polite letter-writing in his day. These forms seem to prescribe that one should begin with *greetings*, and that, next, one should offer *thanksgiving and prayer* for the welfare of those to whom one writes; the *special contents* of the letter might then be introduced and the closing should consist of *salutations* and

[6] These letters have been taken from Milligan's "Greek Papyri," where he collects some of the most interesting discoveries. See also Deissman's "Light from the East."

good wishes. Note these elements in the following Pauline letters :—

1 Thessalonians.

(1) GREETINGS. "Paul and Silvanus and Timothy, unto the church of the Thessalonians. . . Grace to you and peace" (i. 1).

(2) THANKSGIVING AND PRAYER. "We give thanks to God always for you all making mention of you all in our prayers" (i. 2).

(3) SPECIAL CONTENTS.

(4) SALUTATIONS. "Salute all the brethren" (v. 26).

(5) GOOD WISHES. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you" (v. 28).

1 Corinthians :

(1) GREETINGS. "Paul . . . and Sosthenes our brother, unto the church . . . at Corinth. . . Grace to you and peace" (i. 1-3).

(2) THANKSGIVING AND PRAYER. "I thank my God always concerning you" (i. 4).

(3) SPECIAL CONTENTS.

(4) SALUTATIONS. "The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house. All the brethren salute you. . . The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand" (xvi. 19-21).

(5) GOOD WISHES. "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you. My love be with you all in Christ Jesus" (xvi. 23-24).

Of course no good letter-writer keeps exactly to the letter-writing form. The form is his servant, not his master. Under special stress of feeling he may omit some of the usual parts of a letter. So Theon,[7] in his haste to express his indignation to his father, omits the thanksgiving and prayer as Paul does in his eagerness to correct the Galatians.[8] Or special circumstances or feeling will cause the change of some of the forms. Thus, instead of a salutation from his mother, Chaeras

[7] Compare p. 3. [8] Gal. i. 6.

receives, "Your mother reproaches you,"[9] since he had merited reproach. In the same way the special relationship of Paul to those who had become Christians through him, and his special care for their growth in grace led him to say at the beginning of his letters, "Grace to you and peace from God,"[10] instead of the common "Greeting." And so thoroughly in accordance with his feeling was the thanksgiving and prayer that he often expanded it at length with evidently heartfelt phrases.[11] It is interesting also to note that Paul never closes his letters with "I pray for your health" or "Above all take care of yourself," so frequent in the newly-discovered letters. Above all to Paul is the spiritual health of his Christian friends; he ends his letters therefore not with health-wishes, but with such expressions as, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit."[12]

Interesting, however, as are these points of style in Paul's letters it is naturally from the special contents of each that we shall get most light upon his life and ministry. These, accordingly, shall be our chief source. But, as letters are apt to mention the events of a life only incidentally, it would be impossible, from Paul's letters alone, to reconstruct the events of his life. To this end, the Book of Acts offers the most important help. It is primarily a history of the early Christian Church, and Paul is introduced only as one of its founders. In the latter part of the book, however, the writer gives his attention so wholly to Paul that it suggests the probability that it was written by someone who knew much more about the churches in the Gentile world where Paul worked than elsewhere. Indeed, there are many indications that Acts was written by a friend and

[9] Cf. p. 3.

[10] The Greek word for greeting, *chairein*, sounds somewhat like the Greek word for grace, *charis*. The word peace was common as a greeting among Jews.

[11] See 1 Thess. i. 2-5; 1 Cor. i. 4-9; Philemon 4-7.

[12] Gal. vi. 18; Philemon 25

companion of Paul who has imbedded his diary, or at least his personal reminiscences, in his book. It seems probable that we can tell when the writer was an eye-witness of the events which he narrates by noting where he suddenly, in a most extraordinary manner, changes from "*they*" to "*we*" thus:

"*They* went through the region of Phrygia" . . . "*they* came down to Troas" . . "*we* sought to go forth into Macedonia."[13]

Who, then, was this writer who knew part of the story of Paul at first hand? An answer to this question is suggested by the introduction to his book:

"The former treatise I made, O Theophilus, concerning all that Jesus began both to do and to teach."[14]

To what "former treatise" does he refer? Evidently, it was an account of the life of Jesus, and our Gospel of Luke is addressed to the "most excellent Theophilus." Could the author of Acts, then, be Luke?[15]

[13] Acts xvi. 6-10. The so-called "we-sections" are as follows: (1) Acts xvi. 10-17; (2) Acts xx. 7-16, xxi. 1-18; (3) Acts xxvii. 1, xxviii. 16. There are various other possible explanations of the introduction of these "we sections." One is, that the author of Acts was putting together written documents which he had gathered together, and that one of these said "We," and that he embedded it unaltered. But the author of such a well-written book as Acts would hardly have done that without some explanation as to who he thought this first-hand witness was. If, however, it were himself, he might expect people to understand it without explanation. At least this seems the most natural explanation, and it is supported by the fact that a careful study of the words and phrases peculiar to this writer shows that a good many of them occur in these "we sections," as well as in the rest of the book. This, of course, shows that the same man wrote both. See Hawkin's "Horæ Synopticæ," p. 182-189.

[14] Acts i. 1.

[15] That Luke wrote the Gospel of Luke we have no certain proof, but a uniform tradition going back to about 100 A.D. speaks of the Gospel of Luke and the earliest MSS. call it the Gospel according to Luke. It is hard to account for this early tradition, especially since Luke was not a disciple of Jesus, unless he wrote the Gospel. That Luke and Acts are by the same author is shown also by a study of their style. There are some fifty-eight words and various phrases and marks of style found in the New

What does Paul say in his letters concerning Luke? When in prison in Rome Paul speaks of one of his companions, as, "Luke, the beloved physician,"[16] and calls him one of his "fellow-workers."[17] Luke also seems to have remained alone with Paul when others had forsaken him.[18] Now the longest of the "we sections" is the account of the journey to Rome; it would be natural, therefore, to look for the author at Rome, and here we find Luke according to Paul's letters. Aristarchus also sailed to Rome with the author of the "we sections,"[19] and Paul speaks of him in Rome[20]; it is probable, therefore, that both of his ship-companions are there. Of the other Roman companions of Paul, Jesus Justus, Tychicus, Demas, Crescens, Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, etc., none seem more probable than Luke. None is mentioned as so dear to Paul as "Luke, the beloved physician." Therefore we will call our author of the history of Paul, Luke, the fellow-traveller of Paul, though the conclusion cannot be said to be more than a strong probability.[21]

The date of the composition of Acts is uncertain; the limits are between 62 and 125 A.D[22]. One important thing to note is that Luke did not have any of Paul's letters at hand, for his accounts have not been influenced by accounts of the same events in the letters as following comparisons will make evident. This means

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Testament only in Acts and the Gospel of Luke. See Hawkin's "Horæ Synopticæ," pp. 174-176.

[16] Col. iv. 14.

[17] Philemon 24.

[18] 2 Tim. iv. 11.

[19] Acts xxvii. 2.

[20] Philemon 24.

[21] Scholars are very far from being agreed upon this conclusion. For the arguments against Luke as the author of Acts see McGiffert, p. 237, ff., Jülicher's "Introduction to New Testament" etc. For details in the defence of Luke as the author of Acts, see Harnack's "Luke, the Physician," and "The Acts of the Apostles," Hobart's, "The Medical Language of St. Luke," Peake's "Critical Introduction to New Testament," etc., etc.

[22] See Table of Dates and ch. XX., p. 242.

that we have two independent witnesses for Paul's life, Paul himself and his friend Luke.

How, then, shall we use these two chief sources for Paul's life and ministry ? It is evident that wherever the two agree there will be double confirmation of the event, but wherever they disagree we must choose Paul's own account as most authentic. Luke could much more easily be mistaken than Paul, especially as Luke was with him during only a small part of his work. Our method of procedure then must be as follows :

The first and basic element of our narrative we must make the material in Paul's letters.

Second, we will carefully compare Luke's account of the same events and add such features of the picture as he mentions if they are consistent with Paul's account.

Third, such narratives as Luke alone gives we shall add to our story because it is probable that Paul's friend and companion would be able to learn if not specific details at least the general facts about his ministry, and whenever the use of " we " indicates that Luke himself was present the narration will have special value.

Fourth, we shall confine ourselves almost entirely to Paul's letters for the understanding of his thought, for it is impossible to know when Luke is giving us the exact words of Paul's speeches and when he is reporting freely a general outline.

Fifth, we shall keep our eyes open for any light upon the places and conditions in which Paul worked which the inscriptions and writings of the early centuries may give.

As a matter of fact, we shall find that Paul's letters tell us much more about his inner life than about events and this means that it is his inner life that we know most accurately. We may be glad that this is so because it is his inner life that makes his outer life of any significance. Even of his outer life, however, we shall try to find out all we can because the circumstances and events he had to encounter help us to understand the greatness of his personality.

CHAPTER II

EARLY ENVIRONMENT

"It was the good pleasure of God who separated me even from my mother's womb, and called me through His grace, to reveal his Son in me."[1]

These are Paul's words about his birth. He has nothing to say about place or time; the fact of interest to him was that God was present at the dawning of his life. Looking back from the vantage point of his later birth into the fellowship of Jesus Christ:[2] he felt that God had surrounded his life from the very beginning with His grace. His words remind one of those of the prophet Jeremiah who felt that God had known him even before his birth;[3] they indicate, too, that in Paul we shall make the acquaintance of one to whom events are interesting chiefly from their God-ward side.

What Paul says further concerning his family shows the same interest in his religious inheritance. With some apology for his seeming boastfulness he says:

"Yet whereinsoever any is bold (I speak in foolishness), I am bold also. Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? So am I."[4]

"If any other man thinketh to have confidence in the flesh, I yet more; circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews."[5]

[1] Gal. i. 15, 16. This is Paul's only reference to his mother, but certainly it reflects reverence for her. Note also his affectionate use of the name mother in Rom. xvi. 13. There is no specific mention of his father, but the "traditions of my fathers" (Gal. i. 14) includes what his own father had taught him. (See also ch. VII., p. 66.) There was at least one sister (Acts xxiii. 16, see p. 27).

[2] 1 Cor. i. 9. [3] Jer. i. 5. [4] 2 Cor. xi. 21, 22.

[5] Phil. iii. 4, 5. Compare Rom. xi. 1.

Paul grew up, then, in a Jewish household. He was probably named for Israel's first king, Saul,[6] who was also of the tribe of Benjamin. But he has also the Latin name Paul. Where, then, did this boy Saul or Paul, grow up? Was there any place where one could live as a "Hebrew of the Hebrews" and still be in touch with the Graeco-Roman world as Paul's letters written in Greek show that he was? Yes, the great Roman Empire had reached her arms around the Mediterranean Sea uniting into one great family people of many nations, teaching them to speak with one another in the Greek tongue, and thus to share each other's treasures of mind and heart. The Jews seem to have added their contribution in every part of the Empire. Josephus,[7] the Jewish historian, says, "There is no people in the world which does not contain some part of us." Also Strabo, the Greek geographer,[8] says: "Now the Jews are already gotten into all cities; and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men and is not possessed by them."

Almost anywhere in the Roman Empire, then, Paul might have grown up, and, no doubt, Luke is right when he represents Paul as saying:

"I am a Jew, of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city,"[9] and "I am a Roman born."[10] Josephus speaks of "Jews who are citizens of Rome and follow the Jewish religious rites yet live . . . free from going into the army."[11]

Paul's father, then, must have been an important member of the Jewish colony of Tarsus, for he was either wealthy enough to have purchased the privilege of Roman citizenship or it had been given to him or his ancestors for some service. We know absolutely nothing more of Paul's early life in Tarsus; neverthe-

[6] Acts viii. 1.

[7] Josephus "Wars," II: xvi. 4. Josephus lived 37-95 A.D.

[8] Quoted by Josephus "Antiquities," XIV., vii. 2.

[9] Acts xxi. 39; see xxii. 3. [10] Acts xxii. 28.

[11] Josephus, "Antiquities," XIV., x., 13, 14.

less it will be of interest to look at the city and its surroundings, in his day, and to gather such evidence as we can about the Jewish and Gentile life there, because early environment is powerful in determining the possibilities of a life.

"Tarsus is situated in a plain. . . The Cydnus flows through the middle of it, close by the gymnasium of the young men. As the source is not far distant, and the stream passing through a deep valley, then flows immediately into the city, the water is cold and rapid in its course; hence it is of advantage to men and beasts affected with swellings of the sinews, fluxions and gout." So wrote, Strabo, the "Geographer"[12] who must have visited Tarsus not far from Paul's day. Indeed, he probably knew it well, for he was born in Pontus in north Asia Minor, and he may have later lived just north of Tarsus since Josephus always calls him "the Cappadocian."[13]

It is always interesting to know about the river of a town because it seems like a living thing that has taken part in the continuously flowing life of the community. If the old and sick cared about the river as Strabo says, how much more would the young and healthy rejoice in its clear, rapid water. "The gymnasium of the young men" was on its banks and they would certainly often take a plunge into the stream. Since Paul belonged to a strict Jewish family his parents would never have sent him to that "gymnasium of the young men," but he must often have seen it, and perhaps the synagogue for young Jewish men was somewhere along the river, too,[14] since it would be convenient for their many ceremonial washings. Perhaps as early as seven years old Paul would begin to go to school, for the Talmud says that "Joshua ben Gambla came and enacted that teachers should be appointed in every province

[12] "The Geography of Strabo," XIV., v. 12. Strabo was born about 63 B.C., and died after 21 A.D.

[13] Josephus "Antiquities," XIV., vii. 2.

[14] Acts xvi. 13. The place of prayer in Philippi was "by the river."

and in every town, and children of six or seven years old were brought to them."[15] What he learned in the Jewish school for boys would be chiefly a continuation of what he was learning in his home. As soon as a child could lisp a few words he would be taught to say : "Hear, O Israel, for the LORD our God is one LORD." As fast as possible he would learn the rest of Deut. vi. 4-9 and xi. 3-21 and Num. xv. 37-41[16]. As he learned these words he would see them entirely literally carried out around him. Some of the sacred words were put into little leather cases attached to straps called phylacteries[17] so that all the men might literally "bind them for a sign upon their hands and wear them 'as frontlets' between their eyes." Every day the little boy would see this done, and he would know that the same words were written on the door posts and on the gates. Often as they sat "in the house," or walked "by the way" the boy's father or teacher would speak to him of the Law and of Israel's God whose name was too sacred to be pronounced and toward whose Holy City they must look when saying prayers. What impression would all this make upon a child's mind? Certainly God would be a reality to him as a Majestic and perhaps Terrible One whose laws must be obeyed. Josephus in speaking of the effect of this early Jewish training says, "Since we learn them (the laws) from our first consciousness we have them as it were graven on our souls,"[18] and Philo[19] says, "They are taught, so to speak, from their swaddling clothes to believe in God the one Father and Creator

[15] Schürer, "History of the Jews," Div. II., Vol. II., p. 49. It is probable that public schools for Jewish boys were organized as early as 75 B.C., when Alexandra, the one woman ruler, had control. Joshua ben Gambla lived 65 A.D., but his words show that schools had spread extensively before his time.

[16] Read these passages through to see the central interest of their education.

[17] Matt. xxiii. 5. "They make broad their phylacteries." This shows that they were in use in Paul's day.

[18] Josephus "Against Apion," ii. 19.

[19] Schürer, "Hist. of the Jews," Div. II., Vol. II., p. 54.

of the world." Certainly this deeply imprinted idea of the One Eternal God which Paul must have received in his home and school in Tarsus in early childhood[20] was invaluable to him, and formed the basis of all his later development.

But Tarsus had not only the river Cydnus with schools upon its banks and perhaps shops and other indications of the activities of the people but to the south, only ten miles away, it had the sea, and to the north little more than twenty miles away, the snow-capped mountains of the Taurus. It was "a city with its feet resting on a great inland harbour, and its head reaching up to the hills."[21] The Cydnus brought the traffic from the sea up to the doors of Tarsus, though the larger boats probably unloaded first at the inland lake harbour a few miles from the city. Not traders only but all kinds of people came to Tarsus, lecturers and students to the university of Tarsus,[22] and travellers of many sorts including royal visitors and officials. Probably everybody in Tarsus in Paul's boyhood days knew the story of the coming of Cleopatra, "sailing up the river Cydnus in a barge with a gilded stern and outspread sails of purple, while oars of silver beat time to the music of flutes and fifes and harps," she herself being adorned like the goddess of the river.[23] The inhabitants were so excited that they left Mark Antony, the Roman Triumvir, sitting alone in the market-place. Perhaps some of the oldest people in Tarsus could remember this gorgeous spectacle which brought about the complete degradation of Antony and finally led

[20] On the evidence of Acts xxii. 3, which says that Paul was "brought up" in Jerusalem, and Acts xxvi. 4, 5, which says that Paul was known there from his "youth up," some have thought that he probably never went to school in Tarsus, but he surely would not have gone to Jerusalem when only seven years old, even though he did have a sister there with whom he could live. Acts xxiii. 16.

[21] Ramsay "Cities of St. Paul," p. 111.

[22] Strabo, XIV., v. 13.

[23] Plutarch's Lives: Anthony.

to the elevation of Augustus who was Roman Emperor in Paul's boyhood.[24]

But if Tarsus was open to the world at the south and received and sent out travellers, she was closed to the world at the north, or at least she could say who might come to her, since there was only one exceedingly narrow pass through the wall of the Taurus. These "Cilician Gates," with their inscriptions marking the northern boundary of Cilicia, must have been well known to every boy of Tarsus, and the story of the ten thousand Greeks that long ago had passed that way.[25] In the summer, to avoid the oppressive heat of the city, the well-to-do families of Tarsus would move up about half-way to these Cilician Gates. Prof. Wm. M. Ramsay, to whom we are indebted for recent exploration of these regions, has found the ruins of this suburb of Tarsus extending "for several miles up to the deep gorge of the river Cydnus." Paul's family would probably spend some of the hot days up in the hills.

The people of Tarsus must have been of many kinds. First there were the old Semitic inhabitants whose tongue was Aramaic, as was that of the Jews. Possibly many of them still spoke Aramaic in their homes, just as Paul's family probably did,[26] though they of course spoke Greek when dealing with Gentiles. Then there were the Greeks who had come when Alexander the Great had conquered Tarsus along with the rest of the world[27], and the Romans who had entered under Pompey

[24] Augustus was Emperor of the Roman world from 31 B.C.—14 A.D. We have no way of knowing the exact date of Paul's birth, but it must have been in the early part of the first century A.D. or in the last year or two of B.C. Specific indications of date will be discussed where they occur.

[25] Xenophon's "Anabasis," Bk. I., 21-24. "They made an attempt to enter Cilicia; but the sole entrance was a road broad enough only for a single carriage, very steep, and impracticable for an army to pass."

[26] Acts xxii. 2 shows that Paul was familiar with spoken "Hebrew," that is, with Aramaic.

[27] Alexander entered Tarsus 334 B.C.

the Roman general[28], and the Jews who for many years had been coming one by one to Tarsus and entering into business. They had not entered as conquerors, but had secured an important place in the community. There is a decree of Augustus' issued to the Jews of Asia which shows how important the Romans of that time considered it to treat the Jews well:

"Cæsar Augustus, High priest and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since the nation of the Jews has been found grateful to the Roman people . . . it seemed good to me and my counsellors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews should have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers . . . and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem; and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the Sabbath-day. . . but if anyone be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans."[29]

Of course this reflects also the fact that some people did despise the Jews and steal their holy books, if they dared; but it shows chiefly that the Jews were not only protected but given special privileges by the Romans, no doubt because of their expertness in money and trade. Augustus had this decree put up at Ancyra[30] to the north of Tarsus, beyond the Taurus mountains. Because of these privileges, but chiefly because of the fact that Tarsus was a Semitic as well as a Greek and Roman city, a Jewish boy growing up there would probably have very little of the sense of being shunned by others. He might even have the sense of being a person

[28] Pompey conquered Cilicia in 66 B.C.

[29] Josephus "Antiquities," XVI., vi. 1, 2.

[30] Ancyra was the place where Augustus had the record of his deeds written upon the rocks.

of special privilege, just as his teachers in the synagogue would tell him. These general impressions are what influence life fundamentally. Paul, a boy in Tarsus in the early part of the first century, in the home of a Jewish Roman citizen, would feel that he was a child of God's special choice, yet he would know many other kinds of people and know that they considered themselves important too. He could not help being interested in this motley array of people who did business in the streets of Tarsus, with whom his father probably dealt. At any rate, it is true that Paul's letters reflect an interest in people rather than in Nature. Perhaps this was because the nature he knew was completely at the service of people. The Cydnus was continually used by the people, the harbour was always full of shipping, the hills were for escape from the heat. The city with its multiform activities impressed itself upon Paul. As has often been pointed out, Paul was a city man. To him people were of supreme and apparently exclusive interest. Jesus knew and loved both nature and people, but Paul shows interest in people only.[31]

All unknown to himself, he was taking into his life elements that would make it possible some day for him to include all these various kinds of people in his place of special privilege before God. Humanly speaking, Paul could not have been the Apostle to the Gentiles if he had not grown up in a Graeco-Roman city where he could learn the value and interest of all kinds of people. He himself would seem to have recognised this when he said that God had set him apart even from the day of his birth that he " might preach him among the Gentiles."[32]

[31] He expressly states later that God, of course, does not care for oxen, but for men. 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10.

[32] Gal. i. 15, 16. See Weinel's " St. Paul : the Man and his Work," pp. 17-19, for excellent collection of the material from Paul's epistles showing his interest in city life.

CHAPTER III

PAUL'S EDUCATION

"I ADVANCED in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age among my countrymen, being exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers."

These words show that Paul was given an excellent Jewish education,[1] and that he gloried in his opportunities and learned his lessons zealously. This education, as we have seen,[2] was begun in the home and probably continued in the school in Tarsus. It would seem that a boy was expected to show even greater respect for his teacher than for his father, for one of the scribal sayings is, "If a man's father and teacher have lost anything, the teacher's loss has the precedence (*i.e.*, he must first be assisted in recovering it). For his father only brought him into the world. His teacher, who taught him wisdom, brings him into the life of the world to come.[3] What was Paul taught in the Tarsus school beside the "Hear, O Israel?"[4] Josephus answers that it was considered necessary "to instruct children in the elements of knowledge (reading and writing), to teach them to walk according to the laws, and to know the deeds of their forefathers."[4a] Paul would

[1] Gal. i. 14. Nowhere do we have an account of Jewish education. The only ancient evidence consists of (1) a few references in Jewish writers, (2) what is implied in some of the sayings of the Scribes.

[2] See ch. II. pp. 25, 26.

[3] Schürer, "Hist. of the Jews," Div. II., Vol. I., p. 317.

[4] The Hebrew word for hear is Shema, and this declaration which might almost be called the creed of Judaism, was generally called the Shema. See ch. II., p. 26.

[4a] Josephus "Against Apion," II., 5.

learn to read and write in the Aramaic language, and he would certainly learn to read Hebrew also. Although it was then a dead language, it was the language of the Sacred Scriptures, and every boy must be able to read the Law. It is possible that Paul also learned to read and write Greek in the Tarsus school, for his quotations from the Old Testament seem to come generally from the Greek translation and all his known writings are in Greek.[5] Two or three languages and the stories and history of Israel, and the committing to memory of long passages from the Law together with instruction about putting it into practice would constitute a fairly strong elementary education. It would teach self-control and the power to apply the mind to a given task, as well as give useful information.

But Paul also had manual training, for he learned the trade of tent-making.[6] This was a large and important business in Tarsus, indeed, of all Cilicia. A kind of cloth called "cilicium"[7] was made from the long hair of the goats of Cilicia. It was used for cloaks, curtains, covers, etc., and one quality of it for tents. Apparently many of the people of Tarsus worked in this cloth-making, for an orator referred to the people of Tarsus as "cloth-workers."[8]

Perhaps Paul's father was engaged in the tent-cloth business.[9] While Paul was still studying in the "House

[5] This Greek translation of the Old Testament is known as the Septuagint Version, because there was a legend that it was made by seventy Jewish scholars in Egypt about 200 B.C. It was widely used by Jews of the first century, but there is as yet no evidence to show whether it was studied in the Jewish schools. The feeling against Greek culture was so strong that it may have prevented it. But at least Paul learned to know it somewhere.

[6] Acts xviii. 3; 1 Thess ii. 9, etc.

[7] Schürer, "Hist. of the Jews," Div. II., Vol. I., p. 44.

[8] Dion Chrysostom, who spoke in Tarsus in 112 A.D.

[9] There is an inscription found at Rome which reads thus: 'Isaac, elder of the synagogue of the Cappadocians at Tarsus, who was a dealer in linen." Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement, No. 110, p. 19.

of the Book" he would probably begin learning the simpler parts of his trade. After finishing the work in the boys' school and after perhaps going on a journey to Jerusalem and becoming a full "Son of the Law,"[10] Paul would perhaps stay in Tarsus and complete his knowledge of his trade. If so, his education would not be dropped, for he would go to the synagogue. Philo, an Alexandrian Jew of Paul's time, has said, "Our houses of prayer in the several towns are none other than institutions for teaching prudence and bravery, temperance and justice, piety and holiness; in short every virtue which the human and divine recognises and enjoins."[10a] There were meetings in the synagogues during the week also, for Josephus says that people were permitted to "leave off their other employments, and to assemble together for the hearing of the law, and learning it exactly and this not once or twice or oftener, but every week."[11]

These synagogues educated people not only to passively listen but to take part in worship. Beside the well-known parts of the Law and prayers which the company recited together the Scriptures might, with the consent of the President of the synagogue, be read by anyone in the congregation, even by boys.[12] At least seven different people read from the Scriptures on a Sabbath. The reader of the Prophets perhaps selected his own passage.[13] The preacher of the day might be any competent person of the congregation.[14] A service of this kind must have been an inspiration to a young man since it offered him opportunity to think of taking more and more part in the sacred service.

But such inspiration received at Tarsus would suggest

[10] Luke ii. 41, 42.

[10a] Schürer, "Hist. of the Jews," Div. II., Vol. 2, p. 54.

[11] Josephus, "Against Apion," II., 18. This must refer to midweek meetings, since on the Sabbath there would be no "other employments" to leave.

[12] Schürer, "Hist. of the Jews," Div. II., Vol. 2, pp. 79, 80.

[13] Luke iv. 17.

[14] Schürer, "Hist. of the Jews," Div. II., Vol. 2, p. 82.

Jerusalem to any specially earnest and thoughtful young man, for there was the Holy Temple and there were the great teachers of the Law. Just as a Greek boy of Tarsus might long to go to Athens because it was the ancient centre of Greek learning, so a Jewish boy of Tarsus might make it his ambition to finish his studies in Jerusalem. But the Jewish boy would go at an earlier age because he would not wish first to study in the Greek University of Tarsus. If Paul became a "Son of the Law" when he was fourteen years old, he could easily have completed the learning of his trade and been ready to go to Jerusalem by the time he was sixteen. Luke reports Paul as saying that he went from Tarsus to Jerusalem while still young to be "instructed according to the strict manner of the Law."[15]

There was excellent communication between Tarsus and Jerusalem by land or by sea. The Jerusalem to which the young man Paul went as a student, was the city as it had been rebuilt and beautified by Herod the Great. On the hill to the west of the temple area Paul must have seen the magnificent palace of Herod,[15a] the gardens of which were kept green by water brought from a spring not far from Bethlehem. He must have seen Herod's theatres and his gymnasium in the Tyropœan Valley. But his interest would centre in the magnificent temple built by Herod on the sacred mount. Its white stone and gold were said to make it look like a mountain of snow. Its courts and cloisters were filled with worshippers, teachers and students.

Apparently each student when he reached Jerusalem chose for himself a teacher, for Rabban Gamaliel said: "Appoint for thyself a teacher, so wilt thou avoid what is doubtful."[16] It is interesting that this was said

[15] Acts xxii. 3 and xxvi. 4. Paul's letters say nothing about his going to Jerusalem to study, but they imply that he knew Jerusalem. Neither do they mention Gamaliel.

[15a] Part of this palace is still standing and is popularly known as the Tower of David. It is probably the building in which Pontius Pilate lived and Jesus was tried.

[16] Taylor's "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," I. 17.

by the very teacher whom Paul chose. Having chosen a teacher, no doubt he took the attitude toward him which the scribes expected of their pupils which one of them has expressed thus: "Powder thyself in the dust at their feet and drink in their words with thirstiness."[17]

Here, then, is Paul in the midst of the Jerusalem centre of learning. He finds the same worship of the written Law with which he has become familiar at home, but he now hears the scribes discussing the subject, declaring perhaps that, "He who asserts that the Torah is not from heaven, has no part in the future world" or "He who says that Moses wrote even one verse of his own knowledge is a denier and despiser of the Word of God."[18] The most strict advocates of the Law were the Pharisees,[19] and Paul's teacher was undoubtedly a Pharisee for it was later said of him, "Since Rabban Gamaliel the elder died there has been no more reverence for the Law, and purity and abstinence have died."[20] Paul certainly threw himself heart and soul into the Pharisaic legal teaching, for he describes this period of his life with the words, "As touching the law, a Pharisee."[21]

In Jerusalem, Paul would also learn much more about the "Oral Law" than in Tarsus. The Oral Law consisted of the explanations of the Written Law given by different scribes called also rabbis or teachers.[22] There were, in Paul's day, two schools of interpretation which

[17] Taylor's "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," I. 4.

[18] Schürer, "History of the Jews," Div. II., Vol. 1, p. 307. They declared that Moses wrote even the last verses of Deut. about his own death. Torah is the Hebrew word for Law.

[19] The name Pharisee means Separatist, and probably was applied to those who separated themselves from those who were not strict in the keeping of the Law.

[20] The word here translated abstinence comes from the same root as the name Pharisee. It might perhaps be translated separateness or Phariseeism.

[21] Phil. iii. 5.

[22] The Scribes were originally those who wrote and copied the Law, but in the time of Paul they are the teachers of the Law.

received their names from two great Scribes who had lived a short time before—Hillel and Shammai. Hillel had been gentle and reasonable in his applications of the Law, and Shammai harsh and literal. A stranger once "came to Shammai to be converted provided that he could be taught the whole Torah while he stood on one foot. Shammai beat him away, and he went to Hillel, who said, 'What is hateful to thyself do not to thy fellow; this is the whole Torah, and the rest is commentary; go, study.'"[23] This man afterwards met two others who had returned with somewhat the same experience and they agreed in saying, "The irritability of Shammai sought to drive us from the world; the gentleness of Hillel brought us nigh under the wings of the Shekinah."[24]

Paul's teacher, Gamaliel, was said to be the grandson of Hillel, and was in Paul's time the head of the Hillel School.[25] It is certain, then, that Paul would be expected to learn thoroughly the sayings of Hillel. Pupils, called disciples, memorised, by repeating, the sayings of the scribes. The whole body of Oral Law was thus passed on from one generation to another by memory only. The Aramaic word meaning to teach means also to repeat. Paul must have many times heard Gamaliel repeat the sayings of Hillel. Here are a few that have been handed down to us from that ancient college of the Rabbis.

"Hillel said, Be of the disciples of Aaron; loving peace, and pursuing peace; loving mankind, and bringing them nigh unto the Torah."[26]

"Hillel said, Separate not thyself from the congregation, and trust not in thyself until the day of thy death, and judge not thy friend until thou comest into

[23] Taylor's "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," p. 23, note 33. Compare Matt. vii. 12.

[24] The Shekinah was the light under the wings of the cherubim in the Holy of Holies in the Temple.

[25] In three things only he decided according to Shammai. Schürer, "Hist. of Jews," Div. II. Vol. I., p. 370.

[26] Taylor's "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," I. 13.

his place ; and say not, when I have leisure I will study ; perchance thou mayest not have leisure."[27]

Apparently students were expected to work seriously. A Rabbi who lived a little later said, " He who is walking by the way and studying, and breaks off his study and says, ' How fine is this tree ! How fine is that tree ! and how fine is that fallow ! ' They account it to him as if he were guilty of death."[28] It was thought that nothing ought to turn one's mind away from study and nothing keep him from undertaking study. Hillel had been so poor that after him if one excused himself from Torah study on the ground of poverty it was replied " Wast thou poorer than Hillel ? "[29]

Why did not Jewish education produce more great men if it succeeded in making its students work and if they learned sayings so worth while as these of Hillel's ? First, because only a few of the sayings were equal to these ; second, because in their discussions not fundamental principles but minor details of practice were considered. Imagine a Rabbi[30] with his pupils about him, perhaps in some part of the court of the temple, repeating the above words of Hillel. This might open a discussion on what it meant to be brought " nigh unto the Torah," but this would not be a consideration of how one could keep the true spirit of the Law, but rather how one could keep certain rules for keeping the law. Thus the whole of a student's morning might be wasted in hearing a discussion about whether

[27] Taylor's " Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," II. 5.
[28] Taylor's " Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," III. 11.
[29] Taylor's " Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," p. 20.
[30] The word Rabbi really means my teacher, but had come to be used as a noun. There seems to have been much discussion about whether teachers and pupils should sit or stand. The argument of one was as follows : Whence is it that a Rab must not sit on a cushion and teach his disciples on the floor ? but both he and they must sit on the couch, or both stand ? It is because it is said (Deut. v. 37) : " Stand thou here *with me*." But there is a tradition that Gamaliel first allowed the pupils to sit and the teacher to take an elevated seat.—Taylor's " Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," p. 14.

on a holy day a ladder might be carried from one pigeon-house to another, or might only be slanted from one hole to another.[31] Third, even in the discussions on useless subjects pupils were not expected to think for themselves. Some kind of a reference to a Scripture text or a saying of a Scribe was expected to settle everything. The Scribes worshipped authority. Even Hillel who was great because his own personality sometimes broke through the crust of traditionalism, had not been recognized as a teacher until he admitted that "Torah without traditional authority is not Torah." He set forth all the reasons on every side of the question under discussion, but it was of no avail until at length he said, "It occurs to me that thus I heard from Shema'iah." Then they arose up and appointed him teacher.[32] The ideal pupil was one who was "like a well lined with lime, which loses not a drop."[33] Not only in their teaching but in the whole surroundings of the life they were hemmed in by rules. Josephus boasts that Moses had arranged every detail of one's life: "Beginning immediately from the earliest infancy, and the appointment of everyone's diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the individual himself."[34] The wonder is that any great leaders at all grew up among the Jews. How often Paul must have "kicked against the goads!"[35] A strong vital spirit such as his letters show him to be must have found it exceedingly difficult to conform continually to hard and fast rules.

But there was one subject of deep interest to all the students in Jerusalem that did allow the mind free play—

[31] Schürer, "Hist. of Jews," Div. II., Vol. I., p. 362.

[32] Taylor's "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," p. 20, note 26. This seems to have been a kind of examination to see whether Hillel might be a teacher.

[33] Taylor's "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," II. 8; Schürer, "Hist. of Jews," Div. II., Vol. I., p. 325.

[34] Josephus "Against Apion," II. 18.

[35] Acts xxvi. 14.

the coming of the Messiah. The Prophets had, indeed, told of the Messiah, but since the realization lay in the future, the mind refused to be content with the words of the past about the Messiah, and a whole literature grew up around this living hope. That the Scribes discussed the subject is shown by Jesus' question, "How say the scribes that the Messiah is the Son of David?"[36] But this was the subject that the students would be apt to discuss freely by themselves. They would read the recent Messianic books and talk them over and perhaps even write concerning the Messiah, for upon this one subject books were being written at that time. The Messianic hope must have taken somewhat the same place in the minds of young students of that day that social reconstruction takes to-day. Young men like Paul full of eager, patriotic interest must have read and dreamed about this new age. Happily we know some of the books over which they probably pored. There was the book of Daniel with its reference to the Kingdom of the Saints and the "Son of Man,"[37] and the "Book of Enoch"[38] with its descriptions of all the events connected with the coming of the Messiah. Here are a few passages from Enoch which Paul probably read with the keenest interest.

Ch. xlv. 3-6, "On that day Mine Elect One will sit on the throne of glory and make choice amongst their (men's) deeds, and their mansions will be innumerable, and their souls will grow strong within them when they see Mine elect ones and those who have called upon My

[36] Mk. xii. 35.

[37] Dan. vii. 13-27.

[38] The "Book of Enoch" is made up of a whole series of books by different authors who speculate about the events of the future age. They centred their work around the name Enoch because it is said, in Gen. v. 24, that Enoch walked with God. He could, therefore, be supposed to have learned from God about the future. Part of the book dates from about the time of Daniel, B.C. 170; other parts were added at different times until after the time of Paul, which shows that the book stirred up thought. See Charles, "The Book of Enoch."

glorious name. And on that day I will cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them, and I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light. And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing and cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it: but the sinners and evil-doers will not set foot thereon. For I have seen and satisfied with peace My righteous ones, and have caused them to dwell before Me: but for the sinners there is judgment impending with Me so that I may destroy them from the face of the earth."

Ch. xlvi. 1-5, "And there I saw One who had a head of days, and His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days? And he answered and said unto me, 'This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of Spirits had chosen him, and his lot before the Lord of spirits hath surpassed everything in uprightness forever. And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen will arouse the Kings and the mighty ones from their couches. . . . And he will put down the Kings from their thrones.'"

Ch. lii. 4, "And he said unto me, 'All these things which thou hast seen serve the dominion of His Anointed [Messiah] that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.'"

Ch. lxix. 26-29, "The name of the Son of Man was revealed unto them: And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the sum of judgment was committed unto him, the Son of Man, and he caused the sinners and those who have led the world astray to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth. With chains shall they be bound, and in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be imprisoned, and all their works vanish from

the face of the earth. And from that time on there will be nothing corruptible ; for the Son of Man has appeared and sits on the throne of his glory, and all evil will pass away before his face and depart ; but the word of the Son of Man will be strong before the Lord of Spirits."

This shows that there was not only hope of a new age but also of a great personality whom God would send to introduce this new age. The same hope is expressed in some of the Psalms of the Pharisees written nearly a century before Paul's time. One of them contains the following passage :

" Behold, Oh Lord, and raise up unto them their King the Son of David,
He shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of the whole earth,
And he shall purge Jerusalem and make it holy, even as it was in the days of old,
A righteous king and taught of God is he that reigneth over them ;
And there shall be no iniquity in his days in their midst for all shall be holy and their King is the Lord Messiah."[39]

These, then, are some of the elements that entered into the education and therefore moulded the life of Paul in his formative years. Although he had been " exceedingly zealous " in his work and had " advanced . . . beyond many,"[40] the real test of efficiency only life can give. How far will Paul prove to be fitted to act wisely in the new situations of which his teachers could know nothing ? How keenly has his mind been trained to discern the truth if it should appear in unexpected place and form ?

[39] Ryle and James' " Psalms of Solomon," Ode 17, 23, 32-36. See especially Ode 18.

[40] Gal. i. 14.

CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDE TOWARD A NEW MOVEMENT

Not many years after Paul was a student in Jerusalem, there appeared in Capernaum of Galilee a young preacher known as Jesus of Nazareth, proclaiming the good news of God in the words,

"The Kingdom of God is at hand."[1]

Travellers reported in Jerusalem that he had gathered a group of disciples, and that the people everywhere flocked to him for teaching and healing. But he was not expounding the Law to these people, indeed he had actually allowed his disciples to "pluck the ears of corn," contrary to the law as they went through a grain field on a Sabbath day. He had even defended them by declaring that David had broken the Law when he was hungry, and that,

"The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath."[2]

As the months went by his power over the people seemed to increase and they declared him to be a great prophet, perhaps even Elijah who was to prepare the way for the Messiah. The Galilean Pharisees were alarmed and even Herod, the King.[3] At length, certain scribes went from Jerusalem and found that it was indeed true that Jesus violated the Law, for they saw that some of his disciples ate with hands not washed according to the rules of the scribes. When they criticized him he dared to call them "Hypo-

[1] Mk. i. 15.

[2] Mk. ii. 23-28.

[3] Mk. vi. 14-16; ix. 11; iii. 6.

crites" declaring that they made "void the word of God" by their traditions.[4] This made them determine that his work must be stopped, and they told the people that his power was in reality the power of Beelzebub,[5] and they ought not to listen to him. They urged the Pharisees to tell Herod that Jesus must be arrested at once and they succeeded in driving him out of Galilee.[6] Some months later when it might be supposed that he had given up his work, Jesus suddenly appeared on the borders of Judea.[7] On the first day of the week of the Passover feast he entered Jerusalem amid a throng of disciples who cried,

"Hosanna; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Blessed is the Kingdom that cometh, the Kingdom of our father David; Hosanna in the highest."[8]

The next day he drove out the traders and took possession of the temple court and taught the people there. With what consternation the Jerusalem scribes who had stopped his work in Galilee must have viewed him if they were present! All the following day he held his place in the temple, refusing to tell by what authority he acted and giving astonishingly clever answers to every test question put to him. He spoke a parable to the temple authorities, in which he indicated that he was "a beloved son" of God and they were wicked husbandmen. Finally one of his own disciples delivered him into the hands of the Sanhedrin where he condemned himself by the blasphemous assertion that he was the Messiah, and was accordingly put to death at once.[9]

[4] Mk. vii. 1-3.

[5] Mk. iii. 22.

[6] This statement is based on the fact that just after this visit in Mk. vii. of the Jerusalem scribes, Jesus' work in Galilee comes to an end and He seems to live in exile. See also Lk. xiii. 31-33.

[7] Mk. x. 1.

[8] Mk. xi. 1-10.

[9] Mk. xi. 15; xiv. 62, &c.

In some such unsympathetic way, perhaps, the story of Jesus would be told among scribal circles in Jerusalem. Was Paul there? Did he hear any of this story? He may have gone back to Tarsus or he may have settled in Jerusalem.[10] And his letters contain nothing which proves that Paul ever saw Jesus.[11] But he might easily have been in Jerusalem and not have seen Jesus, for the accounts which he would be apt to receive of Jesus' work in Galilee would not be attractive enough to draw him there, and Jesus taught only two or three days in Jerusalem, and his death was accomplished secretly and quickly.[12] He would certainly have been greatly interested if he had heard that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah, but he could not have received that report, for no one knew it except Jesus and his closest friends, until those last few days before his death.

Paul may, then, have been within easy reach of the Great Teacher, and may have missed the opportunity of hearing him because he was so wrapped up in the teachings of the scribes. His education had not taught him to look for truth in unexpected places or forms. It would be sufficient to keep Paul away from Jesus to be told by a Jerusalem scribe who had visited Galilee that Jesus was not "zealous for the traditions" of his fathers.[13] Paul's whole interest must, in those days, have centred in two subjects—the law representing God's revelation in the past, and the Messiah representing God's promise for the future; neither of these would lead him to go

[10] He might have gone into business in Jerusalem as an agent for the tent cloth business of Tarsus, perhaps an agent for his father.

[11] For an argument to the effect that 2 Corinthians v. 16 proves that Paul saw Jesus in the flesh, see J. Weiss' "Paul and Jesus," p. 39ff.

[12] The crowd that cried "crucify him" was the rabble collected from the street early in the morning.

[13] Gal. i. 14.

and hear Jesus, the carpenter, even though he was proclaiming that the Kingdom was at hand.

After the crucifixion of Jesus there was every reason to suppose that the whole movement which centred in him would come to an end. It seemed impossible that any true Jew should continue to think that this Jesus could possibly be the Messiah when God had permitted this terrible death to come upon him, for the Book of Deuteronomy expressly said:

"He that is hanged is accursed of God."[14]

That the accursed of God should be the anointed of God was unthinkable and blasphemous. And yet word comes to Paul that the followers of the Nazarene actually claim that the crucified Jesus is indeed the Anointed One of God. Furthermore, they support their belief with the most astounding statements. Jesus, the crucified, they declare, is not dead.[15] He still lives, and he has appeared to various of his disciples. He will come again soon, and bring in the Messianic Age. How utterly subversive of all God's plans for Israel!

In some such way Paul may have thought of the disciples of Jesus. And was not the duty of destroying this heresy plain before him? Did not the Law[16] say that even if "thy brother," or "thy son," or "the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend, which is as thine own soul" should entice thee away from the true religion "thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him; neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal him; but thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death"? How Paul rose in his might

[14] Deut. xxi. 23; Gal. iii. 13.

[15] It is doubtful whether Paul knew of any of the bodily appearances of Jesus told in Luke and John. See ch. vii. pp. 62-64 for further discussion.

[16] Deut. xiii. 6-11.

to carry out this command of the Law is shown by his later words :

" How that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God, and made havoc of it."[17]

One of those who believed Jesus to be the Messiah was Stephen, a man who was " full of grace and power."[18] Now there was in Jerusalem a synagogue made up of people from distant places such as Alexandria and Cilicia and the members of this synagogue began " disputing with Stephen," and finally they brought about his death.[19] Was Paul one " of them of Cilicia " who debated with him ? Was he, possibly, one of the officials of the synagogue who helped to bring about the death of Stephen ? At least Paul was present at his death, and " was consenting " thereto[20] and immediately after he " laid waste the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison."[21] Afterwards he procured letters from the high priest and " breathing threatening and slaughter " set out to bring back bound to Jerusalem any that he found who were " of the Way "[22] in the city of Damascus far to the north.[23]

But could Paul have felt no qualms in carrying out this terrible work ? His letters show that he was by nature most tender and loving. Must it not have torn his heart to destroy these earnest people, especially as they could not have acted like the wicked blasphemers he supposed them ? Must he not have been impressed by their love for the crucified Jesus and their fellowship with each other ? Did he, perchance, hear some of the

[17] Gal. i. 13 ; see also 1 Cor. xv. 9 ; Phil. iii. 5, 6.

[18] Acts vi. 8.

[19] Acts vi. 9.

[20] Acts vii. 58 ; viii. 1.

[21] Acts viii. 3.

[22] Acts ix. 1-3 ; xxii. 4, 5 ; xxvi. 10, 11.

[23] One wonders why he should choose Damascus when there were certainly disciples in cities much nearer. Was he going to Damascus for something connected with the tent-cloth business ?

words of Jesus quoted by his disciples, and realize that they were not like words of one accursed of God? Did he see that these disciples were not afraid to die, because they seemed to think they were going into the presence of Jesus?[24] Indeed, Stephen had said that he saw "the Son of man standing on the right hand of God."[25] Did they, then, actually think Jesus the crucified to be that marvellous Son of Man, of whom Daniel and Enoch had written? How terrible if one should find one's self persecuting God's Messiah! But no, it could not be, for that would mean that God had broken His own Law, and made it void and that one might as well be a Gentile as a Jew. Impossible! Yet what about this Law; did it really produce righteousness? The Law says, "Thou shalt not covet," but how does it help one to keep the mind from longing for unlawful things? Indeed, it sometimes causes covetousness by suggesting it.[26] The Law makes its demands clear to the mind, but it furnishes no power for keeping those demands. The heart remains covetous. Thus one is compelled to face the terrible fact:

"Not what I would, that do I practise; but what I hate that I do. . . To will is present with me, but to do that which is good is not. For the good which I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I practise."[27]

These words of Paul's, written years after, are certainly a remembrance of the days when he was struggling[28]

[24] Acts vii. 59.

[25] Acts vii. 56.

[26] Rom. vii. 7-11.

[27] Rom. vii. 15, 19.

[28] Acts xxvi. 14: "It is hard for thee to kick against the goads," also shows Luke's knowledge of this struggle of Paul's. These words are from Greek literature. They are found in Aeschylus (Agam. 1624) and Pindar (Pyth II., 173). But why does Luke put them into one of his accounts of Paul's conversion unless he believed that this experience was the culmination of a struggle?

to keep the law absolutely, and they show that he knew that he was continuously failing. It was not, as the words might seem at first to imply, that Paul found it impossible to keep the letter of the Law, for he says of himself, " as touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless."[29] It was an inner failure that Paul realized. His intensely earnest spirit could not be satisfied with outer righteousness such as his teachers had taught him. Yet there seemed no way of escape except in out-doing his teachers in zeal for the Law. Gamaliel counselled against persecution[30], but Paul could not agree to such easy methods if the Law really was the foundation of all righteousness. Yet, as he was on the way to Damascus to persecute followers of the new teacher the tragedy of his situation must have been apparent to him. Here he was hunting down men and women to the death because they believed in one as Messiah, the acknowledgment of whom would make void the whole Law, yet in his heart he was feeling that this Law could not be worth all this suffering since it brought not peace and righteousness but inner agony and death. His spirit cried,

" O, wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me out of the body of this death."

God heard his cry and deliverance came " through Jesus Christ."[31]

[29] Phil. iii. 6.
[30] Acts v. 34-39.
[31] Rom. vii. 24, 25.

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CHAPTER V

PAUL'S TRANSFORMING EXPERIENCE

THE whole of Paul's life-work follows from one transforming experience. What does Paul himself tell us about it? Turning to the one place where he speaks of the events of his life in chronological order,[1] we find that having spoken of his advancement in the Jewish religion which culminated in the persecution of the church he says, "It pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me."[2] Next he speaks of going to Arabia and Damascus. It was, then, as Luke says,[3] when Paul was on the way to Damascus to capture the disciples there that something took place which made the persecutor no longer an enemy but a "servant of Christ."[4] What was this experience? Paul answers:

"It was the good pleasure of God . . . to reveal his Son in me."

How can we fathom such words? They take us out of the world of external events into the world of souls. The unseen world appears to our inner eyes as we ponder these words: "to reveal his Son in me." Certainly they indicate that this was primarily an inner experience; Paul's inner eyes perceived Jesus; he saw that he was not accursed of God, but His beloved Son; he felt this revelation shaking the very foundations of his being and becoming a part of himself henceforth—"his Son in me." All that the experience meant no

[1] Gal. i. and ii.
[2] Gal. i. 15.
[3] Acts ix. 1-3; xxii. 4-6; xxvi. 11, 12.
[4] Gal. i. 15, 16; Gal. i. 10.

words can make clear, but more of Paul's own words will give further illumination.

"God . . shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."[5]

"God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our heart crying, Abba, Father."[6]

In these words Paul describes the experiences of others as well as of himself, but they take their form from the memory of his own experience. Here the change is "in the heart"; it is the shining of an inner light; the light reveals the face of Jesus as Christ; the glory of God is seen to shine in the face of Jesus; the heart cries, Father. From these passages it is clear that while the experience is inner yet it has to do with the actual Jesus who has lived and died. Paul seems to feel that he has actually met Jesus in this inner experience; it is not simply that he has seen some truth about Jesus or his teaching, but that he has had a "revelation of Jesus" himself,[7] and seen in his face the glory of God shining. That this does not press these words too far is clear from other passages where Paul declares he has seen Jesus:

"Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?"[8]

Thus he cries when he wishes to show that he is a true apostle and defines what he means when he puts himself as the last in the list of those to whom Jesus appeared after his death.

"Last of all . . he appeared to me also."[9]

It is clear then, that Paul now believed that Jesus still lived, though he had been crucified, and the proof of this was that he had been revealed in him. There

[5] 2 Cor iv. 6.
[6] Gal. iv. 6.
[7] Gal. i. 12.
[8] 1 Cor. ix. 1.
[9] 1 Cor. xv. 5-8. That this refers to the same experience as Gal. i. 15 is practically certain and is perhaps shown by his mention of the persecution of the church in the same connection, verse 9.

is nothing in his words to indicate any external happenings, but the accounts in Acts make it primarily external. Here the light which shined in Paul's heart has become a light in the heavens accompanied by an audible voice. No doubt Luke had often heard Paul tell about this crucial time. Two of the accounts in Acts he puts into the mouth of Paul probably for that reason. But consider how difficult it would be for Paul to explain clearly such an inner experience. If he said, As I journeyed to Damascus to persecute the Church, God shined in my heart and His Son was revealed in me, and I saw Jesus our Lord, it is probable that many of his listeners would have thought that a light shined around Paul and that he saw Jesus in the clouds. Some people find it hard to believe that inner things are real, and there could be no doubt that Paul believed that he had really seen Jesus. Now was Luke one of his listeners who almost unconsciously thought as outer happenings things that Paul described as inner events? This question cannot be definitely answered, because nowhere does Paul definitely say anything for or against the appearance of an outer light. Indeed, Paul nowhere gives a circumstantial account of his experience. From his brief references we are sure only of the inner light and simply have no evidence about an outer light. Let us look at the chief points in Luke's three accounts (see p. 53).

From the above it is evident that we cannot give a perfectly clear picture of events according to Luke. The accounts disagree as to who saw the light, who fell to the ground, and who heard the voice. But it is noteworthy that they do agree on the words, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" and Paul's cry, "Who art thou Lord?" with the answer "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest." These words, then, are the part of the incident most clearly remembered by Luke from the accounts of Paul, and it is interesting that they indicate the same thing as the words of the epistles, namely, the simple recognition of Jesus, the

consciousness of being in his presence. Paul may have also said in relating the event that he saw a light from heaven above the brightness of the sun and heard a voice with his outer ears, but it is only the inner aspect of this experience of which we are sure from his letters, and which, therefore, is important for understanding the complete change that now comes to Paul's life and thought.

That this inner change was not unconnected with his earnest but futile endeavour to find righteousness by the keeping of the law is shown by another of his references to this experience:

"I through the law died into the law, that I might live unto God. I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me."[10]

His very determination to uphold the Law, though it drove him to take the lives of his own brethren, brought him to the point of death to that Law and the finding of righteousness in a new way. It was like passing through the crucifixion with Jesus, but it was worth the suffering, for it gave a new life within, able to overcome tendencies to covet.[11] Indeed, Paul declares that it is the holy life of Jesus the Messiah within—"Christ liveth in me." Thus the Son of God is revealed within him,[12] and becomes henceforth his constant companion; the light of the knowledge of the glory of God is revealed in the face of Jesus Christ;[13] the spirit of Paul in the presence of the Spirit of the Son finds a transforming love.[14] That process is begun which he afterwards describes in words which can have been suggested only by experience:

"We all with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory."[15]

[10] Gal. ii. 19, 20.
[11] See ch. IV., p. 47.
[12] Gal. i. 15.
[13] 2 Cor. iv. 6.
[14] Gal. iv. 6.
[15] 2 Cor. iii. 18. See Rom. xii. 2.

	Acts ix. 1-8.	Acts xxii. 6-9.	Acts xxvi. 12-15.
(*a*)	Suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven.	Suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me.	I saw a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them that journeyed with me.
(*b*)	He fell to the earth.	I fell to the ground.	We were all fallen to the earth.
(*c*)	He heard a voice.	I heard a voice.	I heard a voice.
(*d*)	"Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?"	Ditto	Ditto.
(*e*)	Absent.	Absent.	It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.
(*f*)	Who art thou, Lord?	Ditto.	Ditto.
(*g*)	"I am Jesus whom thou persecutest."	Ditto (of Nazareth added).	Ditto.
(*h*)	They that journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing the voice, but beholding no man.	They that were with me beheld indeed the light, but they heard not the voice.	Omitted, but something caused all to fall to the ground. (See verse 14.)

CHAPTER VI

CHANGES IN THOUGHT AND LIFE

"IMMEDIATELY I conferred not with flesh and blood; neither went I up to Jerusalem . . . but I went away into Arabia; and again I returned to Damascus."[1]

God speaks in various ways. Often Paul had heard His voice through the Law and the Prophets, and in the words of living teachers. Sometimes, too, a voice within him must have called him to higher things than the books or the scribes taught. Now he feels himself immediately in the presence of God whose "good pleasure" it is to "reveal his Son" in him. This consciousness makes him wish to shut out all other voices, until the full meaning of this experience should be clear to him. "Immediately" he goes away to Arabia[2] without conferring with "flesh and blood."[3] He speaks of this in his Galatian letter, because he wants to make it clear that his "Gospel" is directly from God:

"For I make known to you, brethren," he writes, "as touching the gospel that was preached by me, that it is not after man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ."[4]

Though these words were written long after the great turning point in Paul's life, they certainly look back to

[1] Gal. i. 16, 17.

[2] This was probably not the Arabian peninsula far to the south, but the country around Damascus, which was then in the hands of the Nabateans, who were originally from Arabia, and were therefore called Arabians. See 2 Mac. v. 8. See p. 59.

[3] The phrase "conferred not with flesh and blood" indicates a remembrance of the desire to be alone.

[4] Gal. i. 11, 12.

that moment as the origin of his Gospel.[5] This word Gospel gives a clue to the meaning to Paul of the "revelation of Jesus Christ" as he thought it over perhaps in Arabia. It was good news to him, but not to himself alone; it was news which must be told; furthermore it was to be told to Gentiles. That moment of illumination was crucial for the world as well as for Paul, as he himself said:

"When it was the good pleasure of God . . . to reveal his Son in me, *that I might preach him among the Gentiles*."[6]

Paul's experience on the way to Damascus, then, made him the Apostle to the Gentiles.[7] But how could this possibly be? Paul was a Jew; his education had centred his interest in the Jewish Law and Messiah; now the revelation has convinced him that the Jerusalem disciples are right and Jesus is the long-expected Messiah.[8] Certainly this ought to be good news to Jews but what could it have to do with Gentiles who had never kept the Law of God and had not so much as heard, perhaps, that a Messiah might come? This astounding conclusion of Paul's that Jesus had a message for the whole world, could have been reached on one condition only—the abolition of that ancient wall of partition, the Jewish Law. That this is exactly what Paul saw had been accomplished by the death and appearance of

[5] Of course in using later letters to explain early events, we run the risk of using words and phrases too early in Paul's life. Here we cannot perhaps, be sure that Paul used the word Gospel at the time of his conversion. Nevertheless, he believed that the elements that made up his Gospel originated then, and also the impulse to tell it to the Gentiles. It was one of Jesus' words. Could Paul have known this?

[6] Gal. i. 15, 16.

[7] Gal. i. 1.

[8] See ch. V. This is implied in all Paul's words about his conversion, and in all that we know about his ministry. All is inexplicable if he did not at the moment of conversion believe Jesus to be Messiah. Yet he does not definitely state this. But see Acts ix. 22.

Jesus is shown by words he wrote much later, but which come, in idea at least, out of this crisis :

"*Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law* having become a curse for us ; for it is written, Cursed is everyone that hangeth on a tree ; *that upon the Gentiles might come the blessing of Abraham in Christ Jesus.*"[9]

These words show, also, how it was that Paul explained the fact that Jesus' resurrection had abolished the Law. "Cursed is everyone that hangeth on a tree," said the Law. But Jesus broke the power of that curse by showing that he still lived and therefore was not accursed. He accomplished it, indeed, at the price of terrible suffering, by actually becoming "a curse for us," but the result was epoch making, for upon the Gentiles could now come "the blessing of Abraham in Christ Jesus."

That it was the resurrection of Jesus which convinced Paul of this is shown by words which he uses in his Roman letter :

"Who was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead, even Jesus Christ our Lord."[10]

It was "the spirit of holiness" in Jesus that made it impossible for God to regard him as accursed according to the Law. It was the holiness of Jesus that made him live, that made him Christ and Lord. And because of his holiness, God had been able to make him known to the world as "his Son," by giving him power to appear to his disciples and to Paul that they might be filled with joy and give this joy to others. Was not this good news indeed ? There was no danger that sin would result from the abolition of the Law because it was the holiness of Jesus that had abolished it. Therefore the holy life of Jesus would create a new way of righteousness.

[9] Gal. iii. 13, 14.
[10] Rom. i. 4.

All his life Paul had believed that God cared especially for his own race; they were the Chosen People. They were separated from others by the holy Law. Others might become part of the elect people by keeping that Law. Some were doing so.[11] But Paul must have known that the Greek and Roman people whom he knew in Tarsus, and had met in various ways connected with his business, would never adopt that Law. To offer salvation to them on that condition was little better than leaving them entirely without hope. Had Paul often wondered why God seemed to care so little for Gentiles? Had he longed to have the great barrier between himself and some of his friends removed? Had he wished that the One God of Israel might manifest Himself in greater love to the whole world? At any rate, he is ready to see the granting of such desires in the fact that Jesus still lives. God cannot give His message to entirely unprepared souls. Not everyone to whom Jesus might have appeared on the way to Damascus could have become an Apostle. Perhaps to many he could not even have appeared. But Paul's spirit is prepared to see and to interpret the great fact of God's love manifest to the world in Jesus Christ, the Living One.

Such changes in his thought more or less clearly perceived at the moment of the revelation on the way to Damascus had driven Paul to Arabia, where perhaps he thought it out more fully. Then he says, "Again I returned to Damascus." This is the only reference Paul makes to his visit to Damascus immediately after the revelation, but Luke tells of it. His three accounts continue thus: (See next page.)

When Paul arrived in Damascus, perhaps dazed and blinded by the soul-stirring experience through which he had just passed, he may have been helped by Ananias, but one thing is clear from Paul's letters—he could not have been told of his Gentile mission by

[11] See ch. VIII., pp. 84, 85.

Acts ix. 8-25.	Acts xxii. 10-21.	Acts xxvi. 16-20.
Absent.	"What shall I do, Lord?"	Absent.
"Rise, enter into the city."	"Arise, go into Damascus."	Absent.
Paul, blind, is led to Damascus.	Ditto.	Absent.
Fasts for three days.	Absent.	Absent.
Vision of Ananias; tells of vision of Paul and of his Gentile Mission.	Absent.	Absent.
Ananias restores sight of Paul.	Ditto.	Absent.
Ananias tells Paul he is to be filled with Holy Spirit.	Ananias tells Paul that God has appointed him to be a witness "unto all men."	Absent.
Absent.	Absent.	Christ himself appoints Paul to go to the Gentiles.
Paul is baptized.	Ananias suggests baptism.	Absent.
Paul preaches "many days" in Damascus.	Absent.	Paul preached first in Damascus.
Jews plot against Paul.	Absent.	Absent.
Escape over the wall to Jerusalem.	Absent.	Paul in Jerusalem.
Absent.	In the temple in Jerusalem, Christ tells Paul of his Gentile mission.	Absent.

Ananias as Luke's first two accounts say,[12] since Paul says, "I conferred not with flesh and blood," and declares that he became an "apostle, not from men, neither through man."[13] He may have announced that he was a Christian and have been baptised,[14] but the consciousness of his Gentile Gospel must have come to him directly as, indeed, Luke also says in his third account. Either Luke had never heard of Paul's stay in Arabia, or did not think it important enough to mention. Such an eager, active person as Paul probably would not remain in quiet long, and, no doubt, he returned soon to Damascus, and, joining himself to the disciples, began preaching. Paul himself says nothing about preaching in Damascus, but a reference in one of his Corinthian letters gives evidence that he did something in Damascus which made Aretas,[15] the king of the Arabians, his enemy:

[12] Note in what different ways Acts tells of the Gentile mission. In ch. ix. it is announced to Ananias, who implies it in his words to Paul. In ch. xxii. Ananias tells Paul, but afterwards Christ himself tells Paul in Jerusalem. In ch. xxvi. Christ himself tells Paul on the way to Damascus. Ch. xxvi. then, agrees more nearly with Paul's account in Gal. i. 15, 16. That Paul sometimes received messages from God through others see ch. ix., 86, 87.

[13] Gal. i. 16; i. 1.

[14] That Paul was baptised some time is shown by Rom. vi. 3.

[15] The Nabateans were an Arab people that had pushed their way northward. Probably they are the same tribes referred to in Gen. xxv. 13, and Isa. lx. 7, as the Nebaioth. As early as 85 B.C. they had ruled the city of Damascus. Then in 60 B.C. the Roman Pompey had come and the coins of the city show that up to 34 A.D. it was a Roman city. But the statement in 2 Cor. xi. 32, about Aretas indicates that he has control in Damascus when Paul is there. Now Aretas was King of the Nabateans from 9 B.C. to 40 A.D. But what had Aretas to do with the city of Damascus during that time? If we could answer that question we might be able to determine the date at which Paul was in Damascus. There are several possibilities: (1) Aretas may have been King in Damascus under the Romans, much as Herod was in Galilee, though it had Roman coins, etc. (2) Aretas may have had a governor, or "ethnarch," in Damascus to look after the Arabs living there. The Jews had an ethnarch in Alexandria. (Jos. Ant. XIV., vii. 2), and in Antioch. (See ch. VIII., p. 75, note [5].) (3) The city may have been restored to Aretas by

"In Damascus," he says, "the governor under Aretas the king guarded the city of the Damascenes, in order to take me; and through a window was I let down in a basket by the wall, and escaped his hands."[16]

This is in agreement with Luke's statement that Paul escaped from Damascus through the wall and tends to confirm this further statement that,

"Saul . . confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that Jesus is the Christ."[17]

Aretas would not have taken any action against Paul unless he had been creating some kind of a disturbance among Damascus people, and it is doubtful whether he would have done so except at the instigation of Jews.[18] To him and to other Gentiles the preaching that Jesus was Messiah or that He had a message for Gentiles would not seem dangerous and disturbing, but to the Jews it would seem revolutionary.[19]

It may seem strange to find Paul preaching to Jews when he has just seen the fact that Jesus has a message

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Caligula when be became emperor in 37 A.D. Suetonius says of Caligula in ch. XVI., "He made up to many their losses sustained by fire; and when he restored their kingdoms to any princes he likewise allowed them all the arrears of the taxes." Did he give back Damascus to Aretas? If he did then Paul was there between 37 and 40 A.D., but there is no way to prove it at present. The fact that there have been found no Roman coins from 34 to 62 A.D. favours it, but does not prove it. We can be sure, then, only that Paul was in Damascus while Aretas was King of the Nabatean Arabs, that is, before 40 A.D. For further reading on the history of the Nabateans, see Schürer, "Hist. of N.T. Times," Div. I., Vol. II., p. 249 ff. and Mommsen, "The Provinces of the Roman Empire," Vol. II, Bk. 8, ch. 10.

[16] 2 Cor xi. 32, 33.

[17] Acts ix. 25, 22.

[18] Lake thinks that Paul had done preaching in Arabia also, and had there stirred up the Jews, and "attracted the hostile attention of Aretas." Lake, "The Earlier Epistles of Paul," pp. 320-323.

[19] It was the Jews who in the same way, procured the death of Jesus.

for Gentiles, but he does not lose his interest in his own people, though he considers himself henceforth the apostle to the Gentiles.[20] The work of proclaiming the Gospel to the Gentiles would, of course, be hindered if the Jews opposed it. Furthermore, the Jewish synagogue was the best place for Paul to find Gentiles who would be most glad to hear that they might come to know the One God without keeping the Jewish Law.[21] It is likely, therefore, that Paul, upon returning to Damascus, joined the disciples of Jesus, and began preaching in the synagogue to the Gentiles who came there, and to the Jews who secured the help of Aretas to drive him out of the city. Luke's words, "The Jews took council together to kill him" and "watched the gates also day and night that they might kill him" are equivalent to Paul's "Aretas the king guarded the city of the Damascenes, in order to take me."[22]

The great change that had come to Paul's mind and spirit had produced corresponding changes in his life. He had left Jerusalem as a persecutor; he is now returning as one of the persecuted; he had set out for Damascus believing that Jesus the Crucified endangered the revelation of God to man; now he is barely escaping from Damascus with his life, because he believes that Jesus, the Risen One, proves God's love to the whole world.

[20] Gal. ii. 8, 9.; Rom. i. 13, &c.

[21] See ch. VIII., pp. 84, 85. Josephus "Wars," II., xx., 2, says that most of the leading women of Damascus were "addicted to the Jewish religion." So Paul would certainly find many Gentiles in the synagogue there.

[22] Acts ix. 25; 2 Cor. xi. 32.

CHAPTER VII

PAUL'S FURTHER PREPARATION

"THEN after three days I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas, and tarried with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother."[1]

With what eager interest Paul must now have talked with Peter the disciple who had known Jesus from the first beginnings of his ministry in Galilee to the last tragic days in Jerusalem, to whom also he had "appeared" since death! They could not fail to talk together of Jesus' Messiahship, since Paul is now convinced. Peter had become a disciple of Jesus before he knew of his Messiahship, simply attracted by his wonderful personality. He had left his fishing to go with Jesus, and had seen the marvellous course of his ministry through Galilee, and had followed him into exile when he was driven out of Galilee. During all this close companionship with Jesus he had come to see how completely his life was in touch with the life of God, and had become convinced that he must be the Anointed of God, the Messiah, although he had not come as the Messiah was expected to appear. When one day they were walking along the road near Cæsarea Philippi, Jesus had asked of the disciples.

"Who say ye that I am?" Peter had replied, "Thou art the Messiah."[2]

Peter's faith had been severely shaken, when Jesus said that he proposed to go to Jerusalem and there meet death, but Peter had remained with him. In

[1] Gal. i. 18, 19. Cephas is the Aramaic for Peter.
[2] Mk. viii. 27-33.

the trial Peter had been so discouraged that he had actually denied ever having known Jesus. When death did come to Jesus it seemed that all Peter's confidence in God and truth was at an end, and he fled to Galilee. But then Jesus had appeared to him there,[3] and thus made all clear to him by showing that he still lives and is in truth the Messiah. Of this appearance to Peter, and of several other appearances, of which Paul probably learned more fully during this visit, he speaks in his Corinthian letter:

"I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died . . . that he was buried, and that he hath been raised on the third day . . . that he appeared to Cephas; then to the twelve; then he appeared to above five hundred brethren at once; then he appeared to James; then to all the apostles; and last of all . . he appeared to me also."[4]

Here in Jerusalem Paul was able to compare his experience with that of Peter and James and others of whom they told him. Apparently he found the appearances of Jesus to them not greatly different from the appearance to himself, for he recounts them in this list where differences of time only are noted. Jesus appeared to Peter first and to Paul last. If only we possessed the accounts of the appearances to Peter and James we might get further light here on the nature of the appearance to Paul, but since we do not, and it is uncertain

[3] That Mk. xvi. 9-20 is a later addition is proved by its omission from our oldest MSS. This makes it probable that the end of Mark is lost. It is practically certain that the lost ending of the Gospel of Mark gave an account of the appearance to Peter in Galilee. Mk. xiv. 28, and xvi. 7, imply that such a narrative is to follow. Compare also the account in the "Gospel of Peter" which is based on Mark, and which pictures the disciples returning to Galilee in sorrow, not having heard of the resurrection. This makes it still more probable that Peter was covninced that Jesus lived by an appearance to himself, not by the empty tomb. See Lake's "The Resurrection of Jesus Christ." See "Appearances" in his index.

[4] 1 Cor. xv. 3-8.

to which of the Gospel accounts the appearances to the twelve and the five hundred refer, we can say only that Paul learned nothing from Peter and James that changed his idea that Jesus' Spirit still lived. He never says whether he thought the body of Jesus was raised or not. The words in the above list, "he hath been raised on the third day,"[5] contain the only reference in Paul's letters to the accounts of the resurrection of Jesus' body. Evidently what was of supreme importance to Paul was the fact that Jesus still lived as Spirit, and therefore could speak to the spirits of his disciples. His visit to Peter and James must have strengthened this conviction which he had drawn from his own experience. Perhaps James,[6] like Paul, had become a disciple because of an appearance of Jesus to himself.

Did Paul do any preaching while visiting Peter in Jerusalem? At least he did not do any work that made him known to the churches of Judæa, for when he left he said:

"I was still unknown by face to the churches of Judæa which were in Christ."[7] Luke's three accounts of events in Jerusalem are as follows: (see page 65).

[5] It is worth noting that Paul says that Jesus rose "on the third day, according to the Scriptures." Probably he has in mind Hos. vi. 2.

[6] It is not certain whether in his list of appearances Paul means James the son of Zebedee, or James the brother of Jesus. But it was the latter that Paul knew in Jerusalem, and therefore probably the one to whom he refers in the list. There is a late and probably fictitious account of an appearance to James coming from the so-called Gospel of the Hebrews, which is as follows:

"But the Lord, when he had given the linen sheet to a servant of the Priest, went to James and appeared to him, for James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord until he saw him rising from those that slept. . . . The Lord said, 'Bring ye a table and bread . . . He took bread and blessed and brake, and gave to James the Just, and said to him, 'My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man has risen from them that sleep.'"—Quoted by Jerome in "Concerning Illustrious Men," 2.

[7] Gal. i. 22.

Acts ix. 26-30.	Acts xxii. 17-21.	Acts xxvi. 20-23.
Jerusalem disciples refuse to receive Paul.	In temple Paul told in a trance that his testimony would not be received.	Absent.
Barnabas declares Paul has "seen the Lord" and preached in Damascus.	Absent.	Absent.
Paul is "going in and going out at Jerusalem preaching boldly."	Absent.	Paul preaches "at Jerusalem and throughout all the country of Judæa."
Paul disputes with Grecian Jews who plan to kill him.	Paul warned to leave Jerusalem.	Paul preaches to Gentiles. For this reason the Jews seize him in the temple to kill him.
"Brethren" bring Paul to Cæsarea and send him to Tarsus.	Jesus tells Paul he will send him "far hence unto the Gentiles."	Paul purposes to preach to to Gentiles.

It is impossible that Paul should have gone in and out preaching boldly among the churches in Jerusalem, as Luke's accounts imply, because Paul himself says that he was "unknown by face to the churches of Judæa."[8] How, then, did Luke happen to make a mistake on this point? One possibility is that Paul spoke to the Grecian Jews not to the churches, and that Luke, knowing that he preached there, supposed that he was associated with the churches. Did Paul perhaps go back to the synagogue of the Alexandrians and Cilicians where he had helped stir up the feeling against Stephen?[9] If so, it is no wonder that they tried to bring now the same fate upon him that he had helped bring upon Stephen, for they could not understand the revolution that had taken place within Paul. At any rate Paul was only a fortnight in Jerusalem, for he says he tarried only fifteen days with Peter. The words describing his next journey are :—

"Then I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia."[10]

Syria-Cilicia-Phœnicia was the name of the Roman province to which Tarsus belonged, therefore Luke is probably right when he says that Paul sailed from Cæsarea to Tarsus. Perhaps it was Peter and James who went to Cæsarea with him, for Paul says he did not know many "brethren."[11]

Paul, then, goes back to his native city, and for ten years or more we know nothing about him. Nevertheless they must have been important years, and one cannot help guessing that he came during this time to know better the Gentile world to which he felt that he had a special mission. When he had been in Tarsus before, he would hardly have been free to interest himself in Gentile affairs. Now his family have probably

[8] Gal. i. 22. See p. 64.
[9] See ch. IV., p. 46.
[10] Gal. i. 21.
[11] Gal. i. 22; compare Acts ix. 30.

disowned him.[12] At any rate he is now a man grown and must choose his own life. Although we know nothing about what Paul did in Tarsus it will be of interest to look at the city of that time, and see what might have interested him, and prepared him for his later work. With what new eyes Paul would look upon the Tarsus he had known as a boy.[13] A period away from home, especially a period of study, always makes everything look different upon one's return. But to this was added in Paul's case the revolution which had taken place within him which gave him a mission to carry out among these Gentiles. How was such a task to be begun? Must not Paul have looked with keen interest upon the Gentile life about him for an answer to this question?

Now Tarsus was a great university centre. Strabo says of it: "Such an enthusiasm for philosophy and all the other parts of a liberal education, has been developed in the people of this city, that they have surpassed Athens and Alexandria, and all other places one might mention as seats of learning and philosophical study. . .They have schools for all branches of literary culture."[14] While Paul probably worked at his tent-making trade to support himself, with his new interest in the Gentiles he can hardly have failed to be interested in the philosophers who were lecturing in the city, probably in public places.[15] We know from Strabo, too, for what type of thought the Tarsus university stood. It had long been a centre of the Stoic philosophy.

[12] He may be thinking of this when he says, speaking of Christ, "for whom I suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but refuse," Phil. iii. 8. And the words, "Fathers, provoke not your children, lest they lose heart" (Col. iii. 21) refers perhaps to an experience of Paul's, compare Eph. vi. 4.

[13] Of course there is no reason why Paul may not have been back to Tarsus since he left as a boy, but we have no account of such a journey, and he seems to have reached a place of power in Jerusalem which indicates that he had settled there.

[14] Strabo XIV., v. 13. Translation from Walden's "Universities of Ancient Greece."

[15] In Athens the philosophers could be heard in the market-place—no doubt here also.

Long ago there had been "Chrysippus,[16] the Stoic philosopher, the son of an inhabitant of Tarsus, who left it to live at Soli."[17] He is said to have written 705 books in which he elaborately worked out the Stoic philosophy; of him it was said that "if there were such a science as dialectics among the gods, it would be in no respect different from that of Chrysippus."[18] He had as a pupil Cleanthes of Assos, to the east of Tarsus, who went to Athens as a poor student, and "used to draw water in the gardens by night, and by day he used to exercise himself in philosophical discussions." When asked once why he drew water he replied, "Do I do nothing beyond drawing water? Do I not also dig, and do I not water the land, and do all sorts of things for the sake of philosophy?"[19] Finally, he became the leader of the Stoic school after Chrysippus. These men lived over two hundred years before Paul, but the stories about their lives and their teachings were kept alive by the lecturers in the universities, and Paul could easily hear them in Tarsus. Would not Paul, the tent-maker, be interested in this Cleanthes who had worked "night and day"[20] for the sake of his philosophy?

Other early Stoic philosophers of Tarsus were Antipater, Archedemus and Nestor, though they taught chiefly in Athens.[21] Shortly before the time of Paul a Stoic philosopher showed his skill in politics. The city government of Tarsus had fallen into the hands of "Boethus, a bad poet and a bad citizen." He had been entrusted by Antony with the building of a gymnasium in Tarsus,

[16] Strabo XIV., v. 8.

[17] On the coast, just to the south west of Tarsus, such bad Greek was spoken at Soli that it gave rise to the word "solecism."

[18] Diogenes Laertes, "Lives of the Philosophers," Bk. VII. "Chrysippus." Death of Chrysippus, 208 B.C.

[19] Diog-Laertas, Bk. VII. "Cleanthes." Death of Cleanthes, 232 B.C. When Cleanthes heard the lectures of Zeno, he wrote his notes on oyster shells and shoulder blades of oxen, because he had not money for paper.

[20] 1 Thess. ii. 9. Paul's handwork would not be offensive to Greeks.

but he was caught stealing the supplies—even the oil. The Stoic philosopher Athenodorus, who had been teacher and friend of Augustus, was appointed by Augustus to return to his native city and to put out this plunderer of the city's goods.[21] Though he had many difficulties to meet and insult to endure from the people who had profited by the rule of Boethus, he succeeded in establishing good government. He seems to have had considerable influence upon people who came after him. At least, some of his sayings are quoted by others. Seneca, the great Stoic philosopher, contemporary with Paul,[22] powerful at the Roman court, frequently quotes Athenodorus. One of his quotations, concerning the duties of a citizen, speaks of the careful preparation which athletes make for their contests and continues :

" So it is requisite for us who prepare our minds for the managing of civic affairs to be always active. For if one has determined to make himself useful to his fellow-citizens, yea, to all men, one accomplishes two things at once. He who places himself at the centre of affairs and administers them according to his faculties benefits both the public interests and his own affairs."[23]

He seems also to have had something to say about religion, as indeed all philosophers had, for Seneca quotes :

" Know that you are free from all passions only when you have reached the point that you ask God for nothing except what you can ask openly."[24]

Of course Paul could never have heard Athendorus, for he was only a young boy when Athenodorus died,[25] but it is impossible that Paul should have lived in Tarsus after his return from Jerusalem, and not known about the

[21] Strabo XIV., v. 14.

[22] Seneca's dates are 3 B.C.–65 A.D.

[23] Seneca, " Concerning the Peaceful Mind," III.

[24] Seneca, " Moral Epistles," I. 101, 5.

[25] Athenodorus lived about 74 B.C.–7 A.D. Paul was possibly seven or eight years old when he died.

man who had purified the city government, and lectured on religion and civics.[26]

Of the people who may have been in Tarsus at the time that Paul returned after his conversion[27] we know a few through Strabo who says :

" Nestor,[28] of our time, the tutor of Marcellus, son of Octavia, the sister of Cæsar, was of the Academic sect."[29] " He was also at the head of the government, having succeeded Athenodorus, and continued to be honoured both by the Roman governors and the citizens."

It certainly is interesting to see that apparently for a number of years the head of the university was also the head of the city government ! One would like to know much more about this union of education and politics. It seems to have produced good government, and a studious city, for Tarsus is said to have differed from most university towns in that the students were all natives.[30]

Strabo further says, that " strangers are not inclined to resort thither," to study. But we know of one man who came from Tyana just over the Taurus mountains to the north to study at Tarsus—Apollonius of Tyana.[31]

[26] Ramsay, however, probably goes too far when he concludes that Paul was deeply influenced by Athendorus. He bases this conclusion on certain likenesses between Paul and Seneca, which he supposes are due to the influence of Athendorus upon both men. See Ramsay's " Cities of St. Paul," p. 212, and " St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen," p. 35. For comparison of Paul and Seneca, see Lightfoot's " Philippians," pp. 270-333.

[27] Strabo died in 24 A.D., and Paul must have come back to Tarsus somewhere between 30 and 40 A.D. So some of these Tarsus people that Strabo knew were probably living.

[28] Strabo XIV., v. 14. There seem to have been two Nestors of Tarsus. The second one was head of the government in Tarsus in Strabo's time.

[29] It seems strange that the Stoic Tarsus should now have a head of another school. The Academic School of Philosophy was founded by Plato in the fourth century B.C.

[30] Strabo XIV., v. 13.

[31] Philostratus " Life of Apollonius."

He is of special interest because he was a religious leader of the first century as was Paul. He seems to have found little of value to him in the Tarsus university, but he was much more ascetic than Paul.[32]

Some of the interesting people who might be heard in Tarsus then are thus described by Strabo :

" Among the other philosophers, ' those whom I know and could in order name,' were Plutiades and Diogenes, who went from city to city, instituting schools of philosophy as the opportunity occurred. Diogenes, as if inspired by Apollo, composed and rehearsed poems, chiefly of the tragic kind, upon any subject that was proposed. The grammarians of Tarsus whose writings we have were Artemidorus and Diodorus. But the best writer of tragedy . . was Dionysides."[33]

It is, perhaps, a doubtful accomplishment to be able to produce tragic poetry on demand, but the account indicates that there was considerable intellectual life in Tarsus. Furthermore, these travelling philosophers show how natural was Paul's later travelling ministry. All over this Græco-Roman world, people with schools of philosophy to found, or messages of various sorts to give,

[32] Gildersleeve writes as follows of Apollonius at Tarsus : " When the lad outgrew his Cappadocian teachers, he was sent by his father to college at Tarsus in Cilicia, where he may possibly have seen a Jewish young gentleman of that city, Saul by name, and have watched with him the people of Tarsus sitting on the banks of the cool Cydnus—' like so many waterfowl,' says Apollonius. Against this aquatic dissipation Apollonius set his face like a flint and sternly bade the men of Tarsus forswear their potations, or, to use his own language, ' cease from getting drunk on water.' Disgusted for this reason and various others with Tarsus, he withdrew to Aegae, a neighbouring town, and there gave himself up to the study of the doctrines of Pythagoras, abstained from animal food and wine, left off his shoes, wore garments of linen only, and suffered his hair to grow."—" Essays and Studies." Basil L. Gildersleeve.

[33] Strabo XIV., v. 14, says that it was " very general among the inhabitants of Tarsus " to possess the facility of " discoursing at great length, and without preparation upon any given subject."

travelled about almost like the old Hebrew prophets, speaking wherever opportunity offered. The Tarsians seem, indeed, to have been especially frequent travellers.[34] Strabo says, "Even the natives themselves do not remain, but travel abroad to complete their studies, and having completed them, reside in foreign countries. Few of them return," and, "Rome is best able to inform us what number of learned men this city has produced, for it is filled with persons from Tarsus and Alexandria."[35] Tarsus seemed to produce world citizens rather than those of only provincial interest.

But what of the mass of people who did the manual work, and kept the city prosperous commercially?

[34] We know the name of a grammarian of Tarsus who lived about twenty years after Paul, and who visited Britain! It is Plutarch who tells about this Tarsian thus:

"Shortly before the Pythian games . . . there happened to be two holy men met together from the opposite limits of the world at Delphi, visiting me. They were Demetrius, the grammarian returning home to Tarsus out of Britain, and Cleombrotus, the Lacedemonian, after long wandering in Egypt," etc. (See Plutarch's "Morals," translation by A. W. King, p. 73.) There is now in the museum at York a bronze tablet originally coated with silver, inscribed with the following in Greek:

"To the gods of the consular pretorium, Demetrius."

Was he, then, a government official in old Eboracum? Plutarch calls Demetrius a holy man and tells how he went for the purpose of investigation to one of the islands near by which was inhabited by "religious men, held sacred by the Britons" (p. 93, King). This is, no doubt, a reference to the Druids. Another tablet at York shows this same interest in religion. It reads:

"To Oceanus and to Tethys, Demetrius."

Thus he pays tribute to the god and goddess of the ocean. Ancient peoples seem to have thought of Britons as "those who live in the middle of the ocean" (King, p. 200), and no doubt, Demetrius thought that the most appropriate gods to set up tablets to in York were the Ocean deities. How little he dreamed that a native of his own town had recently completed a life-work that would entirely change the religion of these Britons, and, indeed, of the whole Roman Empire, to which both Tarsus and Britain belonged!

[35] Strabo XIV., v. 13, 14.

At the bottom of society were the slaves and the workers, many of whom were not citizens. One writer calls them "linen-workers"[36]; Paul, we know, was both a cloth-worker and a citizen. The religion of many of these people was probably a mixture of the superstitions belonging to the old religion of the country, and of the crude materialism represented by a tomb to the south of Tarsus which has the inscription, "Eat, drink, be merry; everything else is not worth that"—the person is represented as snapping his fingers.[37] At the bottom this, at the top the lofty morality of the philosophers and the rigid monotheism of the Jews. In all this variety of life Paul remains a disciple of Jesus, perhaps the only one in the city. Why does he? Certainly not because life about him is poor and uninteresting. It must be because he has an inner possession which he knows to be better than the solutions of life about which the philosophers speculate, and the legalism which the Jewish community offers, as well as the hopelessness of the materialism and superstition of the masses.

But if Paul remained a disciple of Jesus in Tarsus it is hard to believe that he remained inactive. Did he win any of his Tarsus friends?[38] Whether he did or not these years must have been worth much in the knowledge of the Gentile world which they gave Paul, and he later says,

"I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish."[39]

But it is probable that he was preaching wherever he could find opportunity, for his account in Galatians

[36] Dion Chrysom. "Orat 33," "To the Tarsians."

[37] This was called the tomb of Sardanapolis the King. Aristotle said, "What better inscription could you have for the tomb not of a King, but of an ox?" Cicero Tusc. III., 35. Compare 1 Cor. xv. 32.

[38] Ramsay, "Cities of St. Paul," p. 178, thinks that the "kinsmen" mentioned in Rom. xvi. 7, 11, 21, were citizens of Tarsus, but they may have been simply Jews.

[39] Rom. i. 14.

says that after he had come into the regions of Syria and Cilicia[40] the disciples of Judæa " heard say " :

" He that once persecuted us now preacheth the faith of which he once made havoc."

Perhaps Paul's work in Syria and Cilicia was not very successful, but no doubt the knowledge and experience was gained which enabled him later to make wonderfully effective his apostleship to the Gentiles.

[40] Gal. i. 21-24. As a matter of fact it is impossible to tell certainly from these verses whether this report which reached the Judæans was based on work which Paul did in Syria and Cilicia, or on what he had done before in Damascus. Churches of Syria and Cilicia are mentioned in Acts xv. 41, but that is all we know about them.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GOSPEL TAKEN TO GENTILE GALATIA

"ANTIOCH is the metropolis of Syria."[1] It is situated on the Orentes river sixteen miles from the sea. Herod the Great, King of Judæa, had beautified the two-mile-long main street of the city. "He built cloisters along its sides, and laid the open road with polished stone."[2] Above the city, says Strabo, is the grove of Daphne "with a thick covert of shade and springs of water flowing through it. In the midst of the forest is a sacred grove, which is a sanctuary and a temple of Apollo and Diana. It is the custom of the inhabitants of Antioch and the neighbouring people to assemble here to celebrate public festivals."[3] But this Greek city, partly because of its nearness to Jewish lands, had long numbered many Jews among its inhabitants and they had been given "privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks . . . insomuch that those privileges continue to this very day."[4] They had a magnificent synagogue and many Greeks were attracted to Judaism, and joined as proselytes. Indeed, the Jews seem to have had a "governor" of their own people.[5]

[1] Strabo XVI., 25.

[2] Jos. "Ant.," XVI., v. 3; "Wars," I., xxi. 11.

[3] Strabo XVI., ii. 6.

[4] Jos. "Ant.," XII., iii. 1.

[5] Jos. "Wars," VII., iii. 3. "They both multiplied to a great number and adorned their temple gloriously by fine ornaments, and with great magnificence. . . . They also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby after a sort brought them to be a portion of their own body." A certain Antiochus is mentioned who "was greatly respected

It was in this prosperous and luxurious city that the name "Christian" came into existence.[6] There were some "men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch spake unto the Greeks also preaching the Lord Jesus."[7] The persecution in which Paul had taken part at the time of Stephen's death had driven disciples out over the Roman Empire. It seems probable that they at first "preached the Lord Jesus" only to Jews, and to the Gentiles that they met at the synagogues, who thus showed some interest in Jewish ideas, thinking they alone would be interested in the Messiah. But these men of Cyprus and Cyrene began in Antioch the work that Paul felt called to do, and was perhaps carrying on quietly in Syria and Cilicia, that is, they preached to the ordinary Greek populace who had nothing to do with Jews. They were successful, for great numbers of Greeks believed.[8] "And the report concerning them came to the ears of the Church which was in Jerusalem and they sent forth Barnabas as far as Antioch who when he was come and had seen the grace of God was glad; and he exhorted them all that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord."[9]

The work grew so rapidly that Barnabas needed help and he then remembered the young man Paul who had seen long ago that the door was open to the Greeks, and who was reported to be preaching to Greeks in Syria and Cilicia. Barnabas does not seem to have been in communication with Paul for "he went

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on account of his father, who was governor of the Jews at Antioch." This statement is concerning the time immediately following Paul's death, but would be just as true of the earlier part of the century.

[6] Acts xi. 26.

[7] Acts xi. 20. The word "Greeks" is in some manuscripts "Grecian Jews," but it would not have been a new thing to preach to them, for they formed part of the group of disciples in Jerusalem. Acts vi. 1.

[8] Acts xi. 19-21.

[9] Acts xi. 22, 23.

forth to Tarsus to seek for Saul; and when he had found him he brought him unto Antioch.[10] "And it came to pass that even for a whole year they were gathered together with the church and taught much people."[11]

The name Christian clearly shows that the preaching was about Jesus, the Christ, and that the word was coined by Greeks to designate those who believed in this Christ. So successful was the work among the Greeks in Antioch, that the newly-gathered disciples felt it right to send out preachers to other Greeks.[12] This, of course, was just what Paul felt called to do, and it was most natural that Paul and Barnabas should be selected to go. No doubt it was the spirit of their preaching that had filled these new disciples with the desire to send the good news to others. Thus Paul received confirmation of his early call.

Now Barnabas' old home was in Cyprus.[13] He, like Paul, had been brought up in the Graeco-Roman world and knew how to speak to Greeks. Barnabas seems to be the leader on this "first missionary journey," and takes Paul and a young man he had known in Jerusalem,[14] John Mark, first to his native place, Cyprus. Sailing from Seleucia, the harbour of Antioch, they arrive at Salamis.[15] Perhaps the visit to Cyprus was not meant to be the beginning of the new missionary work, but rather a visit to the "men of Cyprus," who had certainly preached here, and to the home of Barnabas.

[10] Gal. ii. 11, gives evidence from Paul's letters that he was working in Antioch later at least.

[11] Acts xi. 25, 26.

[12] Of course Paul and Barnabas and the others must have been speaking Greek, since it is the Greek word, Christ, equivalent to Messiah, which gives the name to the group. The name must have originated among the Greeks of Antioch, for the Jews would not have so used such a sacred name as Messiah, that is, Christ.

[13] Acts iv. 26.

[14] Acts xii. 25.

[15] Acts xiii. 4, 5.

They seem to have preached to Jews only; Sergius Paulus sent to hear Barnabas and Saul just as he would have invited some Greek philosophers if they had appeared in the island; there is a dramatic scene between a magician and Paul which caused Sergius Paulus to "believe,"[16] but whether he actually joined with the Christians of the island we have no information.

The new territory conquered in this tour was entered when they "set sail from Paphos and came to Perga in Pamphylia," where no one had yet preached the Gospel. Here John Mark seems to have left them. No reason is given, but Paul later considers it desertion of the work.[17] It was no easy enterprise they were starting on now and Mark probably grew faint-hearted. This wild, rugged portion of Asia Minor had never yielded completely to the Greeks and Romans; many of the old inhabitants had taken to the mountains and lived by robbery. Amyntas, who had made himself King of Pisidia, Lycaonia and Galatia, killed one of the robber chiefs and was in turn killed in a raid.[18] Some of the people lived "among the overhanging heights of the mountains or in caves." They were "for the most part armed and accustomed to make incursions into the country of other tribes."[19] The rivers were not bridged nor the roads well-cared for and Paul may have been thinking of experiences in this region when he afterwards wrote, "in journeyings often, in perils of rivers,

[16] Acts xiii. 6-12. An inscription has been found in North Cyprus, dated, "In the proconsulship of Paulus." Some think Paul took his Greek name here, but residents of Greek and Roman cities always had two names.

[17] Acts xiii. 13; xv. 37-40.

[18] "In eastern Lycia stands a considerable temple-shaped tomb certainly not older than the third century, after Christ, on which mutilated parts of men—heads, arms, legs—are produced in relief, as emblems, we might imagine as the coat-of-arms of a civilized robber chief."—Mommsen's "Provinces of the Roman Empire," p. 238, note.

[19] Strabo, XII., vi. 3-5.

in perils of robbers, . . . in perils from the Gentiles, . . . in perils in the wilderness."[20]

Through whatever perils they may have passed, Paul and Barnabas arrive finally at Antioch in Pisidia. Now it is certain that this little region of Pisidia had been included in the large Province of Galatia which the Romans had organized following the boundaries of the Kingdom of Amyntas.[21] In coming into the city of Antioch, therefore, Paul and Barnabas came into Galatia. We have, of course, a letter of Paul's to the Galations. Was it written to these people ? That depends, first, on whether Paul was using the name of this Roman province or the name of the old country of the Gauls, that is, Galatia, to the north, whose capital was Ancyra. But in his letters Paul uses only the names of the Roman provinces, never the old race-names, such as Pisidia, Lycaonia, etc., although Luke uses race-names in Acts. Second, it depends upon whether we have any evidence that Paul founded churches in Ancyra or Pessinus or anywhere else in the old Galatia, and there is no evidence from any source of churches in that region. To show that Paul was ever in the old Galatia there are only the two statements by Luke, that Paul and Silas later went through " the region of Phrygia and Galatia," but it is probable that this does not mean that they went into the old Galatia, but rather through the part of Galatia which once was Phrygia.[22] Moreover, Silas is not mentioned in the Galatian letter, but Barnabas is referred to as well known.[23] It seems probable, therefore, that Paul and Barnabas are now approaching the first of those cities which he afterwards

[20] 2 Cor. xi. 26.

[21] This Roman province was organized in 25 B.C., and no change had been made by Paul's time. Strabo says : " At present they (the mountain tribes of the Pisidians) are altogether subject to the Romans and are included in what was formerly the Kingdom of Amyntas."—Strabo, XII., vii. 3.

[22] Acts xvi. 6; xviii. 22, 23. For fuller discussion of these passages see ch. XI., pp. 108, 109.

[23] Gal. ii. 1, 9. 13.

addressed as Galatian. Indeed, the only name that would apply to Antioch, Iconium, Lysta and Derbe is "Galatians," for it was only the power of the Roman Empire that had brought any unity between these various peoples and Rome had named them Galatians.[24]

If Paul wrote to these Galatians, then, let us look and see if we can find in his letter any information about this first visit. We find that he speaks definitely of his first visit thus:

"Ye know that because of an infirmity of the flesh I preached the Gospel unto you the first time; and that which was a temptation to you in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but ye received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. . . I bear you witness that, if possible, ye would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me."[25]

This makes it quite clear that Paul went to Antioch because of an infirmity of some kind.[26] He left the low-

[24] The view here adopted is that generally known as the "South Galatian theory." Those who hold the "North Galatian theory" base their arguments chiefly on Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23. Many other elements enter into a full discussion of the problem, some of which will be mentioned later. For fuller discussion of details see Ramsay's "Commentary on Galatians," McGiffert's "Apostolic Age," p. 178ff, etc., etc. For North Galatian theory see both Jülicher's and Moffat's "Introduction to New Testament Literature," etc., etc.

[25] Gal. iv. 13-15. It is not certain whether verse 15 should read "I preached the Gospel unto you the first time," or "formerly," but in either case he refers to his first preaching to the Galatians.

[26] There has been much speculation as to what Paul's illness was. Does the reference to their giving their eyes for him mean that it was an eye trouble? Does his going from low land to high land indicate that it was malaria, with its accompanying headaches? Or was it, possibly, epilepsy, which would give a "temptation" to the people to think him a man possessed by a demon rather than a messenger of God? Is this the "thorn in his flesh," referred to in 2 Cor. xii. 7? There is no way to know. But this reference to an infirmity fits very well with the Acts account, which implies that something unusual made Paul go quickly from Perga to Antioch without stopping to preach. It is therefore one of the evidences of the "South Galatian theory."

lying lands of Perga, and went to the mountainous region of Antioch. Perhaps Mark thought Paul was foolish to start for Antioch when he was ill, and therefore would not accompany him. The "infirmity" was something which might have tempted the Galatians to despise Paul, but instead they received him as an angel of God, and would have been glad to have given their eyes to him. But apparently no "perils" nor any "infirmity" could stop Paul, and it is no wonder that the Galatians received him "as an angel of God" if they caught any glimpse of his indomitable spirit.

Luke reports that this work in Pisidian Antioch consisted of sermons in the Jewish synagogue[27] to the "men of Israel" and "those who fear God," and then tells of his rejection by the Jews and the turning of Paul to the Gentiles.[28] Finally, driven out of Antioch by the Jews they flee to Iconium, and after much the same experience and danger of stoning, find themselves in Lystra.[29] Here Paul heals a cripple. Paul himself speaks of "miracles" in Galatia and of himself as a miracle worker.[30] The healing of this man aroused the people of Lystra to such a pitch of excitement that they cried in their native Lycaonian speech "The gods are come down to us!" They took Barnabas for Jupiter, the father of the gods, and Paul for Mercury, the messenger of

[27] Ramsay has found at Apollonia near by, an inscription which reads: "An Antiochian (by race) sprung from ancestors who held many offices of state in the fatherland, by name Debbora, given in marriage to a famous man, Pamphylus (I am buried here) receiving this monument as a return of gratitude from him for my virgin marriage." This was perhaps a Jewess from Antioch. Ramsay, "Cities of St. Paul." p. 256.

[28] Acts xiii. 14-48. There is no way to tell which part of the sermon reported by Luke contains the actual words of Paul, and which part is Luke's. We will, therefore, confine ourselves to Paul's letters for his thought.

[29] Acts xiii. 49-xiv. 7.

[30] Gal. iii. 5; 2 Cor. xii. 12. The names of the gods which the Lycaonians' applied to Paul and Barnabas indicate probably that Paul was smaller than Barnabas.

the gods.[31] Since Paul and Barnabas did not understand the Lycaonian speech they may not have known what the people were saying until the priest of Jupiter actually appeared with oxen and garlands to sacrifice to them. But every fibre of their being rebelled against this blasphemy in token of which they "rent their garments and sprang forth among the multitude," protesting with all their power, saying that they were not gods but proclaiming to them the One God who "made the heavens and the earth" and gave the "rains and fruitful seasons."[32] The Lystra work seems to have been ended by Jews who stoned Paul and left him for dead. Probably he refers to this in his list of perils when he says, "Once was I stoned."[33]

Going still farther south to Derbe and making many disciples there, they then returned, revisiting

[31] There is a second century description of Paul which is interesting in connection with this experience in Lystra.

"And he saw Paul coming, a man small in size, bald-headed, bandy-legged, well-built (or healthy), with eye-brows meeting, rather long-nosed, full of grace. For sometimes he seemed like a man, and sometimes he had the countenance of an angel." "Acts of Paul and Thekla," III.

The earliest known picture of Paul, as also of Peter, is possibly second century. It is published in W. Lowrie's "Ancient Christian Monuments," p. 251. Mr. Lowrie thinks there is "the possibility that they originated in veritable portraits." The original is a bronze medal strongly drawn and of excellent workmanship, representing the two heads of Peter and Paul. Paul is represented with a high forehead, a bald head, straight nose, no moustache but heavy beard,. Peter is of quite a different type. The medal may be seen in the Christian museum at the Vatican, Rome. It was found in the Catacomb of Domitilla, near the Appian Way.

[32] Acts xiv. 8-18. It is worth noting that the speech before these Lycaonians is utterly different from the speeches before the Jews. It shows that Luke knew that Paul was in the habit of adapting his words to the people to whom he was speaking. Probably whoever told Luke about this occurence told him the character of the speech, but note that you cannot tell whether it was Barnabas or Paul who spoke.

[33] 2 Cor. xi. 25; Acts xiv. 19, 20.

these new disciples among the Galatians.[34] Going down to Pamphylia again, they stopped and preached, since they had passed it by before on account of Paul's "infirmity." Then taking ship at Attalia they sailed for Antioch, thus completing their first journey.[35] What had they accomplished? What did Paul and Barnabas report to that group of disciples that had sent them out? They reported success among the Gentiles. Paul's later Galatian letter gives indications of what had taken place in Galatia. These ancient Lycaonians and Pisidians who had changed the names but not the character of their gods when the Greek and Roman conquerors came along, had been glad to escape from the "bondage to them which by nature are no gods" and to "come to know God."[36] Before their eyes, "Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified," and they received the spirit "by the hearing of faith."[37] It was especially a spiritual Gospel that had been set before them for they had "begun in the spirit";[38] they had been shown that Christ's death had ended ceremonial and legal religion and secured freedom for all, that is, freedom to live a high type of life, freedom "to walk by the Spirit?"[39]

Paul, then, had come back feeling sure that the Gospel must be kept free to the Gentiles, and, no doubt, the Gentile church in Antioch agreed with him, for they themselves had come into the Christian fellowship without keeping the Jewish law. But suddenly all was thrown into perplexity by some men who arrived from Judea[40] and taught saying, "Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved."[41]

[34] The statement that they appointed elders can scarcely be correct, since there is no evidence in Paul's letters that he ever appointed officers. Bishops and deacons are mentioned in perhaps his latest letter, Philippians (i. 1).

[35] Acts xiv. 20-28.

[36] Gal. iv. 8, 9.

[37] Gal. iii. 1, 2.

[38] Gal iii. 3.

[39] Gal. iii. 11-14; v. 11; v. 1; v. 16-18.

[40] The disciples in Jerusalem had kept the Law and worshipped at the Temple. There had been no break with Judaism. Acts. ii. 46; iii. 1; etc.

[41] Acts xv. 1.

Now the relation of the Law to Gentiles was, at this time, a burning question, for, in spite of the hatred of the Jews which many Greeks professed, many of them had been attracted to Judaism by its teaching concerning the One God. Seneca said, "The customs of this most accursed race have prevailed to such an extent that they are everywhere received. The conquered have imposed their laws upon the conquerors."[42] Jesus referred to Jewish zeal in making converts when he said, "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte."[43] Josephus speaks thus of the Jews: "They also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby, after a sort, brought them to be a portion of their own body."[44] There is much evidence also in Acts that Greeks came to the Jewish synagogues, but they were not proselytes, that is, they had not adopted the Law. They were called "God-fearers."[45] Indeed, it was an open question among the Jews whether these "God-fearing ones"[46] need keep all the Law or only part of it. This is best illustrated by the story of the conversion of King Izates of Adiabene over in the region of the Euphrates.

It was just about the time of the beginning of the work of Paul[47] that "a certain Jewish merchant named Ananias" taught some women of the court "to worship God according to the Jewish religion." Izates, the King, became interested and Helena the queen mother was instructed by another Jew. Izates "supposed he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised," but his mother dissuaded him, and Ananias his Jewish instructor said "that he might worship God

[42] Quoted in Augustine's "City of God," VII. 11,

[43] Mt. xxiii. 15.

[44] Jos. "Wars," VII., iii. 3.

[45] Acts ii. 10; xiii. 43; xvii. 4, etc.

[46] For discussion of proselytes and "God-fearing ones," see Schürer, "Hist. of the Jews," Div. II., Vol. 2, p. 291 ff. See also Lake, "Earlier Epistles of Paul," p. 37 ff.

[47] Josephus says it was in the "Reign of Claudius," 41-54, A.D.

without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely; which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision." But "a certain other Jew that came out of Galilee whose name was Eleazar" entering the palace and finding Izates reading the law, said to him, "Thou dost not consider, O King! that thou unjustly breakest the principal of those laws, and art injurious to God himself. How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised?" This decided Izates, and he became a full Jew despite the danger that his subjects might refuse to be ruled by a Jew. But God prospered him ever after, and his whole household embraced the Jewish faith.[48]

This story shows that Judaism was ready for the development offered it by Christ and Paul, because it was reaching out toward a wider and fuller expression of its one great possession, the knowledge of the One God; it shows, too, how Judaism lost her one great chance by clinging to the unimportant part of her possession. For while there were some who said that the worship of the One God did not make all the Jewish ceremonies necessary most of the converts were compelled to comply with them. There are some of the Christians also who do not see that the Jewish ceremonial is comparatively unimportant. Thus Paul and the Christians at Antioch find themselves faced with Christian disciples from Jerusalem who declare that no one can be a true disciple of Jesus who will not keep the Law. They want all Greek Christians to become Jewish proselytes. To protest against this, Paul and Barnabas and some others are sent up to Jerusalem[49] by the Antioch Christians and of their conference in Jerusalem we have an account by Paul himself in his letter to the Galatians.

[48] Josephus, "Ant.," XX., ii. 1-4

[49] Acts xv. 2.

CHAPTER IX

PAUL STANDS FOR "LIBERTY" BEFORE THE JERUSALEM APOSTLES

"THEN after the space of fourteen years, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me. And I went up by revelation; and I laid before them the gospel, which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately before them who were of repute, lest by any means I should be running, or had run, in vain."[1]

Not since the days when Paul's life was transformed by the revelation of God's Son in him had he seen Peter and James.[2] Now he comes up to Jerusalem again under the influence of a revelation, which shows that the "fourteen years" of preparation and work have not dimmed the meaning of that early "revelation of Jesus Christ." It is worth noting too, that although Paul is asserting that his Gospel has come to him by revelation and that he has come up to Jerusalem by revelation, nevertheless he has come up to talk with Peter and James and John about his Gospel, to make sure that he

[1] Gal. ii. 1, 2.

[2] This is practically certain, because Paul, in Gal. i. and ii., is arguing that he could not possibly have received his Gospel from the Jerusalem Apostles. As part of his argument he recounts his visits to Jerusalem and it certainly would have spoiled his argument and given a point of attack to his enemies if he had not named all his visits. Therefore we can be quite sure that Paul had not been to Jerusalem for fourteen years, or, at least, since the short visit after his conversion. There is a possibility that he means to count the fourteen years from his conversion.

is not running in vain. This shows why Paul was not a fanatic. Though the voice of God within him was the chief determining force of his life, yet he did not disregard the voice of God to others and through others; furthermore, he carefully considered the conditions in which his revealed Gospel was to be preached. He realized that although his Gospel was divine, his labour in proclaiming it might all be "in vain" unless he secured the co-operation of others. The power of these "Pillars" might entirely outweigh the influence of Paul and thus destroy his work, if they opposed him. Paul wishes, then, to have the approval and encouragement of Peter and James so that he can further assure himself that the voice within him is indeed the voice of God and that the work to which he feels called will not be hindered by others who are following the leading of God.

This desire for social sanction and co-operation is also shown, perhaps, by the statement in Acts that "the brethren appointed that Paul and Barnabas and certain others should go up to Jerusalem."[3] To be appointed by "the brethren" and to be called by revelation are not contradictory descriptions to one who believes that God speaks to others as well as to himself.[4] Paul may well have both felt that God had sent him, and have desired that his brethren appoint him.

The difficulty that had arisen in the Antioch church,[5] the demand by certain Judæans that all Gentile Christians be circumcised, met Paul also when he laid his Gospel before the Jerusalem Apostles for he says that

[3] Acts xv. 2; xi. 30. In both these visits the church sends Paul.

[4] On the same principle, of course, Paul might have received his call to the Gentiles through Ananias and still felt that it was direct from God. Nevertheless, he there says he did not "confer with flesh and blood." See p. 59.

[5] See ch. VIII., p. 52.

there were, "False brethren . . . who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage."[6]

What liberty? Certainly the liberty to take the Gospel to the Gentiles, to which liberty Paul had been called. What bondage threatened? Certainly the bondage to the Law from which Paul had freed himself and proclaimed freedom to the Gentiles. This was Paul's Gospel to which he must be referring when he says, "I laid before them the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles."[7]

Proof that the special subject which Paul laid before the "Pillars" was the freedom from the Law is found in the rest of his account which shows that Peter's Gospel and Paul's Gospel were compared on the point of circumcision. Paul defines the situation by saying:

"He that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision wrought for me also unto the Gentiles."[8]

Circumcision seems to have been a kind of test question on the necessity of the keeping of the Law. Because Peter keeps the Law he is said to stand for the "gospel of the circumcision"; because Paul preaches freedom from the Law he is said to stand for the "gospel of the uncircumcision."[9] Those who made the issue acute when Paul laid his Gospel before the Jerusalem apostles were "certain false brethren privily brought

[6] Gal. ii. 4. These "false brethren" may possibly be the same ones who had been in Antioch making trouble, or they may be some of their friends in Jerusalem. At least, they had the same concern. Luke says that certain Pharisees rose up in the Jerusalem meeting. Acts xv. 5.

[7] Gal. ii. 2.

[8] Gal. ii. 8. It was through a revelation that God "wrought for" Paul unto his Gospel. Does this verse indicate that it was also through a revelation that Peter's Gospel was wrought?

[9] Gal. ii. 7.

in."[10] Paul had intended to meet only those "who were of repute," but somebody managed to get in among these Christians who wanted to deprive Paul of his "gospel of the uncircumcision." Now Paul had brought with him a young Greek Christian, named Titus, probably as a sample Gentile Christian. These "false brethren" seem to have demanded that Titus be circumcised.[11]

But Paul stood up to his full height before the "Pillars" and the "false brethren" in support of the liberty of the Gospel.

"We gave place," he says, "in the way of subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the Gospel might continue."[12]

And Paul was not disappointed in the "Pillars." They proved themselves staunch supports of the truth of the Gospel. The false brethren who came in "to spy out" Paul's liberty did not gain their end. Paul says that the "Pillars" "saw" that Paul had been intrusted with the "gospel of the uncircumcision." How did they *see*? Perhaps Paul reminded them of his experience on the way to Damascus; perhaps he told them of the success of his work among the Gentiles and pointed to Titus, but also it was something which they "perceived" in Paul's quality of life that persuaded them. They seem to have felt that there was something about him that indicated that he was truly led of God. At least, Paul himself felt that they recognised that his life was of the quality that implies the influence of God, and that therefore they concluded that his message must be from God, for he says:

"When they *saw* that I had been intrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision . . . and when they *perceived the grace that was given unto me*, James and Cephas and John, they who were reputed to be pillars,

[10] Gal. ii. 4. Luke says "There rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees." Acts xv. 5.

[11] Gal. ii. 3.

[12] Gal. ii. 5.

gave to me the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Gentiles and they unto the circumcision."[13]

The victory was complete ; the truth that the Gospel is not dependent on ritualistic observance was maintained and Paul triumphantly declares :

" Not even Titus, who was with me, was compelled to be circumcised."[14]

In this victory is seen one of the finest elements of early Christian life—the willingness to judge each other by the quality of the inner life, by the " grace " of God manifested in the personality rather than by mere outer form of either word or deed. For it should be noted that the fellowship here expressed by the " Pillars " with Paul was not the result of a complete unanimity of opinion nor of likeness in method. Paul and the " Pillars " did not agree in their estimate of the importance of the Law nor in their methods of work.[15] Peter and James and John believed that the Law must be preserved and they could not possibly preach the Gospel without the Law ; Paul valued the Law as having come from God[16] but believed that the Gospel made the Law obsolete. The Pillars and Paul did, then, really have different points of view and different methods, yet each side was great enough to recognize the true spirit and the unity of purpose in the other side and thus to be guided by the Spirit. Neither did they cease to act according to their different points of view. They simply agreed to work in the different fields where their methods would best apply ; Paul was to go to the Gentiles who could not possibly keep the Jewish Law and Peter to the Jews who couldn't give up the Law. Nor did they recognize each other's difference in any grudging spirit,

[13] Gal. ii. 7-9.

[14] Gal. ii. 3.

[15] Of course they did agree in certain fundamentals—their devotion to Jesus as Messiah, etc. See ch. X., p. 102-104, for further indications of their agreement.

[16] Rom. iii. 2.

but rather in the true fellowship which they had in their devotion to the Gospel of Jesus. With Paul's account of his conference in Jerusalem it will be interesting and important to compare Luke's. Since Luke gives two accounts either one or both of which may be the same as the visit which Paul describes we will look at the material arranged in parallel columns (see pages 92-4).

It is quite evident from this comparison that it is the fifteenth chapter of Acts which is most nearly like Paul's account. Everything is told from a different point of view by Luke, but he tells of the same people travelling from and to the same place, in spirited conference over the same general question, which is brought up by the same kind of people, concerning which the same conclusion is reached; unless the letter sent to Antioch by Silas and Judas be considered as a request to keep part of the Law. But Luke does not report that the Antioch people considered that their liberty was limited for they "rejoiced at the consolation."[18] Another difference

[17] Paul does not state that it was from Antioch that he went up to Jerusalem, but the casual way in which Antioch is introduced in Gal. ii. 11, implies that it was his centre during these events, as Luke says.

[18] It is a problem of great difficulty to determine what the rules laid down in the Apostolic Letter were; As our text stands (Acts xv. 29), the people of Antioch were told to abstain (1) from things sacrificed to idols, (2) from blood, (3) from things strangled, (4) from fornication. The first three seem to be ceremonial food laws, and the last a moral law. But it is strange that Paul should say, they "imparted nothing to me" (Gal. ii. 6), if the Apostles had told him that he must be sure to enforce these food laws. Furthermore, his discussion of foods in 1 Cor. x., and Rom. xiv., gives no evidence that Paul had ever heard of such a decree as this. Now there is some manuscript evidence indicating that the decrees may originally have read: abstain from (1) things offered to idols (*i.e.*, idolatry,) (2) blood (*i.e.*, murder), (3) fornication. In this case the laws would be strictly moral. Neither does Paul refer to any such moral law even when he is insisting that fornication shall not be tolerated a moment (1 Cor. v.), but it would be easier to understand how Paul could consider that the Apostles had "imparted nothing" to him if their requests were moral ones which he believed in anyway. Of course it is possible that Paul believed in these

Gal. ii. 1-10.	Acts xv. 1-31.	Acts xi. 27-30 ; xii. 25.
Absent.	"Certain men" come from Judæa to Antioch.	"Prophets" come from Jerusalem to Antioch.
Absent.	They teach, "Except ye be circumcised, . . . ye cannot be saved."	Absent.
Absent.	Dissention and questioning arise.	Absent.
Absent.	Absent.	Agabus "signifies by the spirit" that there will be a famine.
Paul receives "revelation" about a journey to Jerusalem.	The brethren appoint Paul and Barnabas to go to Jerusalem.	"Every man" determines to send relief to Jerusalem. They send by hand of Paul and Barnabas.
Paul and Barnabas go to Jerusalem from Antioch.[17]	Ditto.	Ditto.
Titus is also taken.	"Certain others" are also appointed.	Absent.
They meet "those who were of repute" privately.	They are received of the church and apostles and elders.	Relief is sent to the elders.
Paul lays his Gospel before them.	They rehearse what God had done with them.	Absent.

[17] See note previous page.

"False brethren" were privily brought in.	Certain Pharisees rise up.	Absent.
"They spy out" Paul's liberty and try to bring him into bondage.	They maintain that circumcision is necessary and indeed the whole Law.	Absent.
Absent.	The apostles and elders are gathered to consider "this matter."	Absent.
Paul gives way to the "false brethren" no, not for an hour.	Paul and Barnabas rehearse what "signs and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them."	Absent.
The "Pillars" and Paul agree that Peter is called to work among the circumcision and Paul among the Gentiles.	Peter and James make speeches in which they set forth reasons why the yoke of the Law should not be put upon Gentiles.	Absent.
James, Peter and John give "right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas."	Absent, but see "having come to one accord" of v. 25.	Absent.
"Not even Titus . . was compelled to be circumcised."	Absent, but note the statement in v. 24, that the Apostles do not approve of those who had advocated circumcision at Antioch.	Absent.

Gal. ii. 1-10.	Acts. xv. 1-31.	Acts. xi. 27-30; xii. 25
"They . . who were of repute imparted nothing to" Paul.	Absent.	Absent.
Omitted.	Apostles appoint Judas and Silas to go to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas to carry a letter expressing unity with them and laying "no greater burden" on the Gentiles than the observation of four things.	Absent.
"They would that we should remember the poor.'	Absent.	Paul and Barnabas bring to Jerusalem the relief which those at Antioch had sent.
"Which very thing I was also zealous to do."	Absent.	Paul and Barnabas "fulfilled their ministration."
Absent.	They came down to Antioch and delivered the letter and the people "rejoiced at the consolation."	Paul and Barnabas return from Jerusalem.
Absent.	Absent.	They take with them John Mark.

in the two accounts is the fact that Paul describes his conference with the " Pillars " as private, except for the " false brethren " privily brought in, while Luke, by many little touches and by introducing formal speeches by Peter and James,[19] gives the impression of a formal Apostolic Council. But this is just the kind of difference that a later writer would naturally and perhaps unconsciously introduce, for to him it would seem an official and authoritative decision.

But this council visit Luke reports as the third visit[20] to Jerusalem, whereas Paul reports it as his second. Luke puts second a relief visit in which Paul and Barnabas were sent up from Antioch to Jerusalem to take the contribution which the brethren had sent because of a famine.[21] But might not Paul have taken up the contribution from the Antioch brethren at the same time that he laid his Gospel before the " Pillars " and received from James and Peter assurance that the Gentiles need not be burdened by the Law ? This would, then, be Paul's second visit as he said and Luke would only have made the mistake of supposing that there were two journeys to Jerusalem, because there

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food-laws anyway, and therefore did not regard them as anything new imparted to him, but food-laws do not seem so naturally a part of Paul's interest as moral laws. Luke has certainly laid greater emphasis on these decrees than Paul ever did, and it seems as though Luke must be mistaken when he says that Paul and his companions went through the cities delivering " the decrees for to keep which had been ordained of the apostles and elders that were at Jerusalem " (Acts xvi. 4). For further discussion see Lake, " The Earlier Epistles," pp. 46-60. Bacon, " Com. on Galatians," appendix. Harnack, " The Acts of the Apostles," p. 248 ff., etc.

[19] These speeches can hardly have been written down at the time, but are rather a statement by Luke of what he was informed the attitude of James and Peter was at the conference.

[20] According to Luke : 1st visit—After the persecution in Damascus. 2nd visit—the carrying of relief told of in Acts xi. 3rd visit—the Apostolic Council. See p. 86 for Paul's account.

[21] Agabus is said to prophecy a famine, and the brethren are said to have sent relief " every man according to his ability."

were two things accomplished there. Perhaps one person told him that Paul took contributions up to Jerusalem, and another that he presented the question of the freedom of the Gospel for the Gentiles, and Luke supposed this meant two visits.

Paul's last words about the conference also have a bearing on the solution of this problem. He says that the "Pillars" made just one request of him:

"Only they would that we should remember the poor; which very thing I was also zealous to do."[22]

This certainly means that Peter and James hoped that Paul would not forget to send money for the poor in Jerusalem. Does this imply that Paul had already remembered the poor? And does his expression of zeal for that "very thing" imply that he had already manifested this zeal? In short, do these words mean that Paul had brought up some money and presented it to the Pillars for the poor? The words certainly can indicate this. Indeed, they can, and perhaps should, be translated, "Which very thing I *had been* zealous to do."[23] It seems possible, then, that the accounts compared in the above three columns are three renderings of the same visit to Jerusalem by Paul and Barnabas.[24]

[22] Gal. ii. 10.

[23] Ramsay freely translates thus: "A duty which as a matter of fact I, at that time made it my special object to perform." "St. Paul, the Traveller and Roman Citizen," pp. 56, 57. He says that this states the main object of the visit. Lake agrees with this, and paraphrases thus: They "only begged me to continue my care for the poor—which was the main object I had in hand at the time."—"Earlier Epistles," p. 290.

[24] It is evident that the arrangement of these visits in Paul's life is sufficiently problematical to call forth a variety of arrangements. One of the most widely accepted is as follows:—

Gal. ii.=Acts xi. This was a "relief visit," though Paul did talk with the Jerusalem apostles about his Gospel, as he says, but Luke fails to note it. The Apostolic Council came later and is recorded in Acts xv. only. This theory claims that Paul's Gospel and the question of circumcision were entirely different, and, therefore, Gal. ii. and Acts xv. are not on the same subject.

This means that the Jerusalem Apostles had been given definite evidence of the warmth of fellowship which the Antioch brethren felt for them. This would be another reason for their reciprocating that fellowship. It is possible that Paul and Barnabas stayed in Jerusalem for some time, and distributed money or food, for the phrase, they "fulfilled their ministration"[25] may imply that they themselves ministered personally.

We know of one person who came up to Jerusalem and distributed food at this time for Josephus says that a "great famine[26] happened in Judæa in which Queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expense and distributed it to those who were in want."[27] She sent some of her servants to Alexandria to buy corn and

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It also lays great emphasis upon the fact that Paul said his conference was *private*, while the Luke account in Acts xv. is evidently official. It points out that Acts does not mention Titus, etc., etc. It finds itself, therefore, driven to claim that the ambiguous clause in Gal. ii. 10, "which very thing I was also zealous to do," contains the main object of the journey to Jerusalem. See Ramsay's "St. Paul, the Traveller and Roman Citizen," and Lake's "Earlier Epistles." For other views see other studies of Paul.

[25] Acts xii. 25. See Ramsay, 51 ff.

[26] Josephus says ("Ant.," XX., v. 2) that this famine occurred in the procuratorships of Fadus and Tiberius Alexander. This means somewhere between 44 A.D. and 48 A.D. This agrees with Acts xi. which puts it after the death of Herod Agrippa (44 A.D.) and in the reign of Claudius (41-54 A.D.). The date cannot be fixed more exactly than this, else we might fix the date of Paul's conversion, perhaps. Let us suppose that the famine were in 46 A.D., then let us subtract the fourteen years which Paul puts between his first and second visit, and the three years of his Arabian and Damascus experience this gives us 29 A.D. But this is too early, for the death of Jesus probably belongs to 29-30 A.D. But probably the fourteen years and the three years counted parts of years. Or, perhaps, Paul's fourteen years is counted from his conversion. Evidently there are too many uncertainties here to produce a certainty. All that can be said is that the reference to the famine indicates that Paul's conversion was not many years after the death of Jesus.

[27] Jos. "Ant.," XX., v. 2.

others to Cyprus " to bring a cargo of dried figs." This she distributed herself and as soon as her son Izates[28] heard of the famine he sent " a great sum of money to the principal men in Jerusalem."[29] Queen Helena was a convert to Judaism, and probably had never heard of Jesus. Might she possibly have met Paul and Barnabas as they were engaged in their ministrations ? Even so, she probably would have had no chance of learning from them the still higher type of monotheism, that of a God who continually reveals Himself and has made this fact fully known through Jesus Christ, for there is no indication that Paul did any preaching during this visit.[30]

What, then, did Paul accomplish on this second journey to Jerusalem ? He gave tangible proof of the fellowship underlying the life of Christian communities widely separated in space and thought. He won acknowledgment of the fact that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is a new type of life with no essential relationship to forms and ceremonies. The grace of God in a life, he showed, was what determined whether or not it was Christian. Thus Paul, rather than the disciples who had heard Jesus speak, saw the full meaning of the statement that " new wine " could not be confined in " old wine skins."[31] Whether Paul ever heard that saying or not, he was the one who threw away the old skins and left the new life free to revitalize the world, and create its own forms.[32]

[28] See ch. VIII., p. 51.

[29] Jos. " Ant.," XX., ii. 5.

[30] Helena was buried in Jerusalem in a three pyramid tomb which she had built for herself and her family. The pyramids have been destroyed but the tombs still exist and are known as the " Tombs of the Kings." A sarcophagus found there was inscribed " The Queen Zadda." Was this another name of hers ? See Schürer, Div. II., Vol. 2, p. 311.

[31] Mk. ii. 22.

[32] Mt. xiii. 33.

CHAPTER X

THE " TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL " MAINTAINED IN ANTIOCH.

" But when Cephas came to Antioch, I resisted him to the face, because he stood condemned."[1]

Paul had won a victory for a great ideal ; furthermore he had practised that ideal, and therefore knew its full significance. It was for the continuance of the "truth of the Gospel," " with you," as he wrote to the Galatians, that he had refused to give way for a moment to those who attempted to spy out the " liberty " " in Christ Jesus."[2] This victory which Paul had won for the Galatians was, of course, also a victory for the Gentiles everywhere, and hence for the Antiochians. When he returned to Antioch, therefore, he, no doubt, brought the good news that " the truth of the gospel might continue " among them and entered again into the practice of the ideal of liberty and complete fellowship which the "truth of the gospel" implied.

But once more Paul was compelled to stand up for the defence of the Gospel when Peter came to Antioch. One of the expressions of the fellowship which the disciples of Jesus in the different communities felt for each other seems to have been the common-meal. They shared their common life in this way.[3] Peter seems to have come to Antioch for the purpose of expressing to the Christians there the good-will which he had expressed to Paul when he gave him the " right hand of

[1] Gal. ii. 11.

[2] Gal. ii. 4. 5.

[3] See Acts ii. 42, 46 ; 1 Cor. xi. 17ff. These common-meals were later called Love-feasts. See Jude 12 ; 2 Pet. ii. 13. The Greek word, Agape, was used.

fellowship,"[4] for he joined in the common-meal and " ate with the Gentiles " thus taking them as true brothers.

All went well until " certain came from James. . . but when they came, he drew back and separated himself, fearing them that were of the circumcision."[5] What consternation this sudden withdrawal of Peter's must have caused in the Antioch Christian community! Obviously brotherhood could not thrive where one part of the community regarded the rest as unclean. Had Peter forgotten the days when with Jesus he had eaten with publicans and sinners ?[6] Why did he not see that he had been right at first in thinking that this was a time for laying aside exclusive Jewish rules ?[7] At any rate, here is the same impulsive Peter of the Gospels. First he is swayed by his impulse to full brotherhood with these eager earnest disciples, then fear drives him back into his narrow Pharisaism. Just so his love had once taken him into the place where his Master was on trial for his life and fear had made him deny him there. No wonder that Paul felt that Peter " stood condemned." No wonder that he " resisted him to the face."[8] Such wavering seemed hypocritical and the consequences might be tragic to the Christian community. Already the " rest of the Jews dissembled," with Peter " insomuch that even Barnabas was carried away with their hypocrisy."[9]

But why did James use his influence to keep Peter and Barnabas and all the Jews from joining fully in the fellowship at Antioch when he, too, had given the right hand of fellowship to Paul at Jerusalem ? Because this is a new question which was not considered at the Jerusalem

[4] Gal. ii. 9.
[5] Gal. ii. 12.
[6] Mk. ii. 15-17.
[7] Of course Jesus' work, too, had been almost entirely with Jews, and Jesus had kept the Law except where it violated his principles. If Peter had followed his impulses he would have acted on the principles of Jesus.
[8] Gal. ii. 11.
[9] Gal. ii. 13.

conference. It had there been recognised that there were two fields for the spread of the Gospel, the Gentile field and the Jewish field. It had been agreed that Paul and Barnabas should take the Gospel to the Gentiles without laying upon them the bondage of the Law; they should go to the uncircumcision and Peter to the circumcision. But nothing had been said about the keeping of the Law when Jews and Gentiles met together perhaps at a common-meal.[10] Now Peter is out of his field and he frankly does not know how to act in the Gentile world. He had agreed at Jerusalem to the theoretical ideal of the liberty of the Gospel for Gentiles, but he had put that ideal into practice only on one occasion, and, therefore, he did not know all sides of it. It seems exceedingly strange, however, that he was not more influenced by that experience with Cornelius after which the Jerusalem apostles had said to him, "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them,"[11] and he had defended his action by declaring that God had said to him in a vision, "What God has cleansed, make not thou common"[12] and by the fact that "Cornelius and those with him did evidently receive the Holy Spirit."[13] Then, as now, he had been influenced by the real Christian life which he perceived, and he had responded to it with brotherhood, but he had not staid and lived with Cornelius nor other Gentiles, and he, therefore, did not realize the full bearing of his action here at Antioch. But Paul saw the underlying prin-

[10] Of course, if we knew that the decrees of Acts xv. were food laws, it would have some bearing on this question. Still there is nothing in this Galatians narrative to indicate that the difficulty was with the food. It seems rather to have been simply the act of eating with unclean Gentiles. See ch. IX., p. 19.

[11] Acts xi. 3.

[12] Acts xi. 9; x. 27, 28.

[13] One cannot resist the feeling that the number of visions recorded in Acts x.—xi. 18 is overdrawn. Probably the facts lying behind this web of visions in Acts are that Cornelius and others were converted, and Peter impulsively laid aside his Jewish rules for the moment to acknowledge it.

ciples, and he knew that "the liberty" "in Christ Jesus" was threatened. He knew that while Peter's withdrawal was not a violation of the agreement made at Jerusalem, it nevertheless made that agreement practically worthless because it destroyed liberty to couple with it inferiority. The Gentiles could not be told in the same breath that they were free to become Christians, and that they were inferior unclean Christians. This, to Paul's mind, was a violation of the "truth of the Gospel" and a violation of Peter's own best impulses and thought. Peter ought not to have been guided by James who was far away, and could not fully know the cirumstances.[14] He ought to have been true to his inner Christian impulses. Since he was not, and since the very existence of the Gospel among the Gentiles depended on it, Paul was compelled to "resist him to the face." Apparently it was at one of the common-meals when, perhaps, the Jews insisted on having a separate place for Jews to eat; at least it was when the community of Christians was all gathered together for Paul put the matter to Peter "before them all." He describes the scene thus:

"When I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Cephas before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest as do the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, how compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?"[15]

This seems at first a strange way to state the situation since the one thing that Peter was refusing to do was to live like the Gentiles. The Jews must have wondered, too, exactly what Paul meant by saying that Peter compelled "the Gentiles to live as do the Jews," for was not the greatest liberty being given to the Gentiles to live and eat as they pleased? But by means of this question Paul unearths one fact that is wrong with their brother-

[14] Perhaps if James had been present he would have acted just as Peter had in joining the fellowship, for he had "perceived the grace" given to Paul. Gal. ii. 9. See also Acts xi. 18, where he was persuaded by Peter's account of Cornelius.

[15] Gal. ii. 14.

hood—down deep in their minds the Jews believe themselves to be superior to the Gentiles. There is condescension in their fellowship. They even take it for granted that the Gentiles will be quite content to remain in their subordinate position. It does not occur to them that by setting themselves off as more holy than the Gentiles they practically compel them to keep the Law if they aspire to the highest. That was just the difficulty—they thought the Gentiles were only " sinners of the Gentiles," as Paul ironically says in his next sentence,[16] and that they would not aspire to the highest. But Paul knows the Gentiles better than Peter and he expects the highest things from them, and can, therefore, be a real brother to them. This is one reason why Paul was the Apostle to the Gentiles and Peter was not. Peter's impulses to brotherhood were true and right as far as they went, but it was difficult for him to overcome his provincialism and enter into complete fellowship with any but Jews. Therefore, he was fitted to take the Gospel of Jesus Christ only to Jews, since it is a Gospel of Love, while Paul was able to enter into sympathy with both Jew and Gentile.

But Paul's question points out not only this flaw in Peter's practice of brotherhood among the Gentiles, but also that his action is inconsistent with his own thought about " the truth of the Gospel." Peter himself lives like the Gentiles, Paul's question implies. How ? By being a Christian on exactly the same basis as they, that is, on the basis of faith in Jesus. " We," says Paul, including himself and Peter,

" We . . . knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, save through faith in Jesus Christ, even we believed on Jesus Christ that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law."[17]

[16] Gal. ii. 15.

[17] Gal. ii. 15, 16. For discussion of the word " justify," which occurs here, and of how one can be justified by faith, see ch. XVIII., p. 205.

Here, then, is a common basis of unity which Peter acknowledges, but has violated in refusing to sit down at the common meal with Gentiles. This "faith in Jesus Christ" is the one living principle which is the source of all the new life that is remaking the world. The reaching out of the heart in confidence and love toward Jesus Christ—this is the "faith" that is giving new spiritual meaning, new hope and joy to the life of all kinds of people in Jerusalem, Galatia and Antioch. They feel that the old barriers that separated them have disappeared when they come together in their meeting or common meal, drawn by their common love for Jesus Christ. But Peter has insisted on building up again the Jewish barrier although he knows that as a Christian he lives on exactly the same fundamental principle as the Gentiles do, which is "faith in Jesus Christ."[18] Therefore Paul undoubtedly refers to Peter when he says,

"If I build up again those things which I destroyed, I prove myself a transgressor."[19]

Strange to say, we do not know what effect these strong words in this public rebuke had upon Peter. Did he acknowledge that Paul was right and enter again into fellowship with the Gentiles? Certainly Paul's narration of events implies that the "truth of the Gospel" was successfully upheld on this occasion, and no barrier permitted to be built up between the disciples in the Antioch community. Peter either was convinced by Paul or went away and left the Gentile field to him.

One reason why Paul forgets to finish the account of the visit of Peter to Antioch is that his reference to Peter's building up again the things that he had destroyed reminds Paul of the day when the Law was

[18] This agreement of Paul and Peter on faith as the fundamental element of the new Christian life which Paul's words here in Galatians so definitely imply is also stated by Luke in the speech which he reports that Peter made at the Jerusalem conference, in which he said:

"He (God) made no distinction between us and them, cleansing their hearts by faith." Acts xv. 9.

[19] Gal. ii. 18.

destroyed for him, and Faith came into his life. It will be worth while to look here at his words to see more exactly what Faith is to Paul. He says:

" For I through the law died to the law that I might *live unto God.* I have been crucified with Christ; yet *I live;* and yet no longer I, *but Christ liveth in me;* and that life which I now live in the flesh *I live in faith,* the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself up for me."[20]

This makes it clear that the life of Faith is but another term for the life of the Christ within. It is a term which emphasizes Paul's side of the relationship to Christ. He has faith, that is, confidence toward Christ and Christ lives within him. On that day on the way to Damascus when through the Law he died to the Law[21] this new life of Faith began within him. Since then, he has seen this inner power transform the lives of many others. He, therefore, is determined that no barrier shall be placed between the soul that is reaching out with Faith toward Christ and the answering love which makes life a joyful companionship with God in Christ and with his disciples everywhere whether Jew or Greek.

[20] Gal. ii. 19, 20. It is impossible to say exactly at what point in these verses Paul's account of what he said to Peter ends. Probably verse 18 is the last one that refers to Peter, but 19 and 20 show what this Faith of which he has spoken to Peter means to Paul.

[21] See ch. V., p. 52.

CHAPTER XI

PAUL TAKES THE "FAITH OF THE GOSPEL" INTO GREECE

AGAIN Paul's hopes reach out toward new lands to conquer and toward the "brethren" in the cities where he has already proclaimed the "faith of the gospel."[1] He asks Barnabas to accompany him and Barnabas wishes to take Mark, but Paul "thought not good to take with them him who withdrew from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work." Luke says that a "sharp contention arose so that they parted asunder one from the other."[2] Apparently, Paul wanted only dependable people to undertake this enterprise with him. Perhaps one reason he was willing to give up Barnabas was that he had less confidence in him since he had proven untrue to the principles of the Gentile mission by withdrawing with Peter and refusing to eat with Gentiles.[3]

His old friends having failed him, "Paul chose Silas" as his helper. Now Silas was one of the chief men among the Jerusalem brethren.[4] Perhaps he and Paul had become friends through the events connected with the Jerusalem conference. Perhaps Paul's setting forth of the success of the Gospel among the Gentiles made him wish to have a part in it. He was a "prophet," and had been sent to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas after the Conference. He had returned to Jerusalem, and

[1] Phil. i. 27.
[2] Acts xv. 36-39; see ch. VIII., p. 78.
[3] Gal. ii. 12, 13; see ch. X., p. 100.
[4] Acts xv. 22.

reported to those who sent him.[5] Luke says nothing about his returning to Antioch, but apparently he had returned of his own accord, no doubt, then, because of his interest in the spreading of the Gospel among the Greeks of Antioch. For there he was, ready to be chosen by Paul for his great new enterprise. By following out the line of his greatest interest he found the opening for his life work.

Paul and Silas "went forth, being commended by the brethren to the grace of the Lord. They "went through Syria and Cilicia confirming the churches," and came to Derbe and Lystra, and Iconium where disciples, no doubt, welcomed Paul as the one who had first told them of Jesus. One of these disciples of Lystra named Timothy, Paul found "well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium," and he invited him "to go forth with him."[6] Paul

[5] Acts xv. 22, 32, 33. Concerning his connection with "the decrees," see ch. IX., p. 91.

[6] Acts xv. 41—xvi. 3. Luke here also says that Paul circumcised Timothy because of the Jews in that region. They all knew that his father was a Greek, that is, they all knew that he had never been circumcised, although his mother was a Jew. It seems hard to believe that Paul would circumcise Timothy when his conference with the Apostles in Jerusalem shows so plainly that he believes that the Law has nothing whatsoever to add to the Gospel, and when he has severely rebuked Peter for acting as though it were important. But Gal. v. 11, says, "But, I brethren, if I still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted?" This shows that Paul had done something to which his enemies could point and say, "He still believes in circumcision." Possibly this was the circumcision of Timothy. There certainly was no reason why Timothy should be circumcised to prepare him for the work among Gentiles in the midst of which he then was, and in which he was setting forth, but it is possible that Paul thought that he ought to be prepared to work among Jews too, if opportunity offered. The Jerusalem conference, of course, had decided that Jews might keep the Law. We shall see later that Paul, when in Jerusalem, felt that it was only fair when he went into Jewish territory, that he should keep the Law just as he demanded of Peter that he should not keep the Law when in Gentle territory. The only difficulty about applying this explanation to the

certainly did not know where he was going. He was setting forth like Abraham of old, seeking for a new land as God should show it to him. The whole enterprise was pure adventure. Perhaps this fact appealed to the young man Timothy who would undoubtedly also feel it an adventure in a great cause.[7]

Where did they go when they set forth into new land ? Apparently Paul had thought[8] of going into the Roman province of Asia, one corner of which was only thirty miles away from Iconium, but, Luke says, he was " forbidden of the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia." So he changed his plan and went—where ?[9] Here we are faced with one of those difficulties that come from the fact that we are studying ancient documents written in another language. It is difficult to know whether the words translated in our text as " They went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia," truly express what Luke meant to say. This translation would mean that they went through two countries : first, Phrygia and then Galatia. In that case, Paul might now have visited and evangelized the old Galatia whose chief cities

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circumcision of Timothy is that Timothy is not in Jewish territory. Still there seem to be a good many Jews there, since it was " because of the Jews " that he took action. Paul hoped to win some of these Jews, too, and, in other regions where they might be found, and did not want the uncircumcised Jewish Timothy to be a stumbling block.

[7] It looks as though Paul thought that three was the proper number to start on a missionary enterprise—two who take the chief responsibility, perhaps, and a younger one to act as messenger and minister.

[8] Acts xvi. 6. See map. The following paragraph is unintelligible without one's eyes on the map.

[9] Acts xvi. 6. There is some uncertainty concerning the translation here. Whether it was while Paul was at Iconium that he was forbidden to preach in Asia, or *after* he had passed through the Phrygia-Galatia region, is not clear, but probably the reading in our text is correct, that is, " having been forbidden of the Holy Spirit," they then went through the region, etc.

were Pessinus and Ancyra.[10] But it is much more probable that the sentence ought to be translated, "They went through the Phrygian and Galatian land" or "The region of Phrygia-Galatia."[11] This would mean one region which could be called both Phrygian and Galatian. Now this would be most apt to be the region in the edge of which Iconium stood, which was once part of the independent country of Phrygia, but which had now been included in the Roman province of Galatia. It is, therefore, probable that Paul did not evangelize Galatia at this time, but that he had to seek still farther before finding the new land to which God was leading him. Passing, then, west through the already visited Phrygia-Galatia region,[12] he finally struck into Asia, where he was forbidden to preach and travelled north until he was "over against Mysia,"[13] possibly at Dorylaion. Here was Mysia to the west and Bithynia to the

[10] This is, of course, what the holders of the "North Galatian theory" say. They think that Paul and Silas and Timothy went to Ancyra, etc., now and organized churches to which Paul afterwards wrote his letter to the Galatians. They think that it is only accidental that Luke never mentions any churches in that region. See ch. VIII., p. 80.

[11] See, however, Moffatt's "Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament," p. 93, where the writer says that the words "can only mean," "Phrygia and the region of Galatia." See also Lake's "The Earlier Epistles of Paul," p. 257, where the writer says the phrase "can only mean one thing—the land which is Phrygia and Galatia, or more shortly the Phrygo-Galatic land." But Lake's position is more tenable, for if Galatia is an adjective, probably Phrygia is also. Another reason for believing that a region known as Phrygia-Galatia is here referred to, is that a reference to such a region has been found, which reads as follows: "These holy martyrs were, under the Emperor Diocletian, in the city of Antioch of Pisidia, from the region of Phrygia-Galatia." The part of Phrygia that had not been included in the Roman Galatia was also known as Phrygia-Asiana, as is shown by the following: "Dorylaion, which is the last city of Phrygia-Asiana." See Lake "The Earlier Epistles," p. 313.

[12] He went through Phrygia-Galatia when he went from Antioch to Lystra on his first journey. See ch. VIII.

[13] Acts xvi. 7, 8.

north—which way should they go? "They essayed to go into Bithynia, and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not; and passing by Mysia, they came down to Troas." During all this wandering Paul was looking for the right place to introduce his Gospel. Finally at Troas he saw his new land before him. Luke says that he had a "vision" at night in which "There was a man of Macedonia standing, beseeching him and saying, Come over into Macedonia and help us."[14]

Who was this Macedonian? Why did Paul see him in a dream? An answer to these questions is suggested in the next sentence by the words, "Straightway *we*[15] sought to go forth into Macedonia." Possibly the Macedonian man is Luke, or, perhaps, a personification of needy Macedonia of which Luke tells Paul. At least, Luke here joins Paul and travels to Macedonia with him and remains there, as his use of the pronoun "we" during that part of his narrative shows.[16] It is probable, then, that Paul himself told Luke, when he met him at Troas, about his long search for the right place to begin definite evangelizing work, and that Luke urged him to come to Macedonia.[17] This makes the study of this account of Paul's leading of God of special interest. Three different expressions have been used to denote this leading. They were "forbidden of the Holy Spirit" to preach in Asia; "the Spirit of Jesus suffered

[14] Acts xvi. 7, 8.

[15] The sudden introduction of this "we" is one of the most curious features of Acts. For its bearing on the authorship of Acts see ch. I., p 20.

[16] That Luke himself was the Macedonian man, was first suggested by Ramsay. See "St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen," p. 189ff. Harnack thinks that Luke here joined Paul, but that he was not the Macedonian man. "Acts of Apostles," pp. 98-100. Following a late tradition, Harnack thinks that Luke was a native of Antioch, rather than of Macedonia. He does not explain why none of the "we sections," which he holds that Luke wrote, occur in connection with Antioch. See "Luke the Physician," pp. 4, 5.

[17] This theory explains how the author of Acts knew about these unfulfilled desires of Paul's to go into Bithynia, etc.

them not" to go into Bithynia; "a vision appeared to Paul in the night." Of course the choice of words is, no doubt, Luke's, and yet it is certainly interesting to note that while Luke speaks many times of the Holy Spirit and of visions, nowhere else does he speak of the Spirit of Jesus, while Paul several times uses almost the same expression.[18] Does it not seem possible, then, that Luke has remembered at least that phrase from Paul's own account? This means that Paul was, indeed, expecting to be guided to the right place for his work. Just as he had gone up to Jerusalem "by revelation," so now he is moving along step by step under the guidance of the Spirit of Jesus. Can we out of these circumstances get any further light on how the Spirit of Jesus led Paul? One thing seems clear; it was not by telling him in some supernatural way exactly where he was to go, else he would not have hunted about so long, but would have gone straight to the place. It was not, then, such guidance as cut off the use of Paul's own mind or the evidence of circumstances. We are told nothing about the circumstances in Asia and Bithynia, but apparently it was the meeting with Luke in Troas that took Paul and his friends across the Ægean Sea, "*concluding*," says Luke, "that God had called *us* to preach the gospel unto them."[19] The little group of workers had talked it over and *concluded* that this was the leading of God.

But why should Paul have wandered "so far from his goal?"[20] Why did the Spirit of Jesus not lead him direct to Philippi? While one could not presume to fully answer such a question even if one knew all the circumstances and much less knowing so little about them, still it is worth noting that such slow hunting for the

[18] See Rom. viii. 9; Gal. iv. 6; Phil. i. 19. Of course, Paul may have spoken of the Holy spirit and of a vision since he does so sometimes in his letters.

[19] Acts xvi. 10. We do not know when Luke became a Christian but probably before this.

[20] Prof. Royce uses this phrase in his study of "The Problem of Job" in "Studies of Good and Evil."

right way develops fellowship with God, for one learns to discern the right, to "think God's thoughts after Him" or with Him, whereas if one were merely told what to do, one would not be a fellow-worker. At Troas Paul was probably urged by Luke to go to Philippi. Perhaps the character of the city was put before him, and its need of the Gospel, and probable readiness to receive it. Nevertheless Paul was not guided merely by the open door of which Luke probably assured him. He waited at least over night to test that opportunity by the Spirit of Jesus within him. "Come over to Macedonia and help us" were the words that rang within him. Surely such an opening was in accordance with the Spirit of Jesus, for help was needed and the help was in Paul's hand. Such thoughts brought Paul into fellowship with the Spirit of Jesus, and he probably reported to Luke and the others that he thought it right to go to Philippi.[21]

Conscious, then, of the concurrence of the inner voice and of the evidence of circumstances, Paul with his companions Silas and Timothy and Luke set out across the Ægean Sea, touching at Samothrace one day, and arriving at Neapolis the next day.[22] From the harbour the city of Philippi could be seen built on a hill nine miles away. Founded by Philip, father of Alexander the Great, it was situated on the great Roman Road called the Egnatian Way, which was built right across the Roman province of Macedonia from Dyrrachium through Thessalonica and Philippi, then on up across the neck of land leading to Byzantium in Asia Minor.[23]

[21] Perhaps Paul heard these words in a dream, but Luke is so fond of visions and dreams that one could easily suspect him of making an inner experience of which Paul told him in the morning into a dream of the night.

[22] Acts xvi. 10-12. The use of the "we" shows that Luke was with the party.

[23] See map. Travellers leaving Rome would travel on the Appian Way through Brundisium, then take boat to Dyrrachium and proceed on the Egnatian Way across Macedonia.

This was a favourable situation for a city, but Philippi was hardly the "first" city,[24] in Macedonia, for there were several others more important. It is probable that Luke means the first city in that part of Macedonia, rather than in the whole of the province. It is true as this verse of Acts states that Philippi was a Roman colony.[25] It was after the battle of Philippi 42 B.C., where Brutus and his ideal of the Roman Republic died and the Roman Empire was born, that Philippi was made a Roman Colony. A company of Roman citizens was settled here by Augustus with the full rights of Romans and the city became thoroughly Roman.

In this Roman city the Jewish element seems to have been small, for Paul and his companions go outside of the city to a place of prayer by a river. There would seem to have been no men present at this memorable meeting. But Paul was not discouraged and "spake unto the women which were come together"[26] His confidence in them was rewarded, for one of them, at least, responded to his message. Lydia was a Greek; she had come from Thyatira in Asia Minor, probably by the same route that Paul and his companions had just taken; she seems to have been a business woman, a "seller of purple." Probably she was the manager of a shop or bazaar, and a successful one, for she had a house at which she could invite Paul and his companions to make their home. Although she was a Greek she had been attracted by the Jewish worship of the One God and had herself become "one that worshipped God." She seems to have been an open-minded seeker for truth, and now when Paul presents his new teaching about Jesus, the Christ, the manifestation of the glory and love of God[27] she was ready to see its truth. As Paul

[24] Acts xvi. 12.

[25] Pliny's "Natural History," IV. 18, speaks of the "colony of Philippi."

[26] Acts xvi. 13-15.

[27] Phil. ii. 11.

stayed on in Philippi for some time,[28] living at the house of Lydia, and going to the place of prayer to teach, it is certain that others also accepted his teaching. Paul mentions two women, Euodias and Syntyche who there laboured with him in the Gospel.[29] Some of the converts were certainly men, for " brethren " are mentioned by Luke just as Paul is leaving Philippi and Paul himself mentions two Philippian men, Epaphroditus, who becomes a messenger and minister to Paul, and Clement, a " fellow-worker."[30]

The one letter of Paul's to the Philippians which is preserved to us was written years later, but it has a few references to his early preaching among them which show that he felt that a great work had been well begun at Philippi, and that he had, indeed, been guided to the right place. When in prison later the memory of these earlier days cheers him and he writes thus :

"I thank God upon all my remembrance of you, always in every supplication of mine on behalf of you all making my supplication with joy, for your fellowship in furtherance of the gospel from the first day until now ; being confident of this very thing, that he which began a good work in you will perfect it until the day of Jesus."[31]

Paul could not have written this if he had not felt that the Philippians had responded in the true way to his message from that " first day " when he came to their place of prayer. They joined at once in " fellowship " with him for the furtherance of the Gospel.

[28] " Certian days " of Acts xvi. 11, must mean a considerable period of time. Note the " many days " of xvi. 18.

[29] Phil. iv. 2. It is probable that the women of Macedonia were allowed greater freedom than the women in other parts of the Roman Empire. The Macedonian inscriptions indicate that women took part in active life. For instance, one inscription tells how a wife erects a tomb " for herself and her dear husband, out of their common earnings." See Lightfoot's " Philippians," p. 56.

[30] Acts xvi. 40 ; Phil. ii. 25 ; iv. 3, 18.

[31] Phil. i. 3-6.

There seem to have been no enemies of Paul's work there, and he and his friends might have stayed as long as they liked had they not accidentally disturbed the business of certain men. These men were in the business of divining. They had possession of a young girl who believed that she had a spirit of divination.[32] She could throw her voice in ventriloquist fashion, and this made both herself and others believe that a spirit was speaking through her, and people were willing to pay for her oracles about their affairs. No doubt her keepers secured quite an income in this way, for practically the whole world of that day believed in divination.

For some strange reason this girl followed Paul and his companions, crying out,

"These men are servants of the most high God, which proclaim unto you the way of salvation."[33]

Perhaps she dimly felt that they were of an utterly different type and better than her keepers. But Paul was "sore troubled" that his work should be commended by this prophetess of the heathen oracle. At last, he turned, as she was following him, and commanded the spirit to come out of her.[34] Here faith in Paul as a man

[32] The actual Greek words here are "a spirit of Python." Python was the serpent which, according to the legend, was slain by Apollo. It was supposed to be the spirit of this python that gave oracles at Delphi, and the prophetess who received the oracle was called Pythia. From this the word came to be used for anyone who gave oracles. It seems that in the first century it meant, especially, a prophetess who pronounced her words in ventriloquist fashion. This manner, of course, made it easier to believe that it was the voice of the spirit speaking through the prophetess. Plutarch says, "The voice and language of the Pythia we demand to be presented to us as though from off the stage," Plutarch's Morals, King's translation, p. 163. The same idea of the manifestation of a divining spirit is found in the Greek translation of the Old Testament, where Saul says of the witch of Endor, "Send me a woman that is a ventriloquist." 1 Sam. xxviii. 7. Same use in Lev. xix. 31; xx, 6, 27.

[33] Acts xvi. 17. Probably this is Luke's first-hand report, since he is in Philippi with Paul.

[34] Acts xvi. 18.

of God showed itself in the failure of her ventriloquist power ; she no longer gave her oracles after these words from Paul. It is not stated whether she became a Christian or not, but perhaps she joined Lydia and the other Christian women of Philippi.

But the girl's keepers were angry and they " laid hold on Paul and Silas and dragged them into the market place before the rulers " of the city.[35] They made two charges against them : first, that they were disturbers of the peace, and second, that they taught something not suitable for Romans to receive.[36] Paul might have saved himself from indignities if he had declared his Roman citizenship, but instead he and Silas were beaten and cast into prison[37] with their feet fastened in the stocks, where they remained praying and singing till they were released by an earthquake at midnight.[38] How the jailor was about to kill himself, thinking that his prisoners had escaped, how Paul assured him that all were safe,[39] how the jailor cried out, " Sirs, what must I do to be saved ? " and was " baptized he and all his immediately "[40] is graphically told by Luke. The next

[35] Acts xvi. 19, 20. The rulers in Philippi were called " praetors." See Lightfoot's " Philippians," p. 51.

[36] Probably this was " Jesus is Messiah," which was interpreted as " Jesus is King," which would be treason against the emperor.

[37] The " we sections " stop here, so Luke was not in prison, but since he was in the city knew about the event.

[38] Of course we do not know just *how* an earthquake *could* free everybody in a prison. We do not know exactly how the prison was arranged. Ramsay says that it was like the poorly-built Turkish prisons of to-day, and that earthquakes could easily have " forced the door-posts apart from each other, so that the bar slipped from its hold and the door swung open." He tells of seeing just such things done by earthquakes in that country. —" St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen," p. 22.

[39] One wonders how Paul knew the jailor was about to kill himself, and that none of the prisoners had escaped. Ramsay says that he could probably see the jailer by the one door, and knew that no prisoners had passed out that door.

[40] What kind of baptism could take place immediately in the prison ?

morning the magistrates apparently wish to get rid of these men secretly, but Paul refuses to leave in any such ignoble fashion, and at last, announcing that he and Silas are Roman citizens, compels the magistrates to come and publicly bring them forth from the prison. However, Paul seems to have thought it best to leave Philippi as the magistrates requested, and, after a brief visit to the "brethren" at the house of Lydia, they departed from the place where they had been "shamefully treated."[41]

But Paul left behind a company of "saints in Christ Jesus" "at Philippi"[42] who were "lights in the world."[43] He knew that he "had not run in vain, neither laboured in vain"[44] since he was leaving a fellowship which abounded in love and knowledge and discernment[45] where each one looked not to "his own things" but "also to the things of others."[46] He knew that he could depend on them to do the things that they had "learned and received and heard" and seen[47] from him when with them; he knew that they had become living Christians who were not dependent on him, but were capable of working out their "own salvation";[48] he knew that they also were "holding forth the word of life"[49] to others, yet Paul left them with sorrow because he had given his heart to these "brethren

[41] 1 Thess. ii. 2.

[42] Phil. i. 1.

[43] Phil. ii. 15.

[44] Phil. ii. 16.

[45] Phil. i. 9. Of the individuals who made up this fellowship we know of Lydia and possibly the ventriloquist girl, and the jailor and his household mentioned in Acts. Those mentioned in Paul's Philippian letter are Euodia and Syntyche, fellow-labourers; Epaphroditus, "brother," "fellow-worker," and "fellow-soldier"; Clement, "fellow-worker," and whoever is meant by "true yoke-fellow" in Phil. iv. 3.

[46] Phil. ii. 4.

[47] Phil. iv. 9.

[48] Phil. ii. 12, 13.

[49] Phil. ii. 16.

beloved."[50] "I have you in my heart,"[51] he afterwards wrote them, and they certainly returned Paul's love for they later showed their fellowship with him by ministering to his needs.[52] They were the joy "and crown"[53] to which the "Spirit of Jesus"[54] had led Paul. In Philippi he had received "a hundredfold" "with persecutions."[55] Into the living channels of a new continent had been put the living "faith of the gospel."[56]

[50] Phil iv. 1.
[51] Phil. i. 7.
[52] Phil. iv. 15; 2 Cor. xi. 9. See ch. XII., p. 121.
[53] Phil. iv. 1.
[54] Acts xvi. 7.
[55] Mk. x. 30.
[56] Phil. i. 27.

CHAPTER XII

THE "GOSPEL OF GOD" INTRODUCED INTO THESSALONICA

"HAVING suffered before and been shamefully treated, as ye know, at Philippi, we waxed bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God in much conflict."[1]

Thus writes Paul of his departure from Philippi and entrance into Thessalonica. Timothy had apparently not been in prison in Philippi, but he certainly comes on with Paul and Silas to the work in this new city for Paul's letter to the Thessalonians names Sylvanus[2] and Timothy, and says:

"Yourselves, brethren, know our entering in unto you that it hath not been found vain."[3]

Probably on foot, on the Egnatian Way, Paul, Silas and Timothy pass by Amphipolis and Apollonia and travel to Thessalonica.[4] What kind of city is this which these bringers of a new religion are entering? Strabo tells how the city's name was given in honour of the daughter of Philip of Macedon who had named her Thessalonica because he conquered the Thessalians on the day of her birth.[5] That, of course, was over 300 years

[1] 1 Thess. ii. 2.

[2] Sylvanus seems to be Paul's name for Silas. Though Acts does not mention Timothy at Thessalonica, yet it does at Berœa. Acts. xvii. 14.

[3] 1 Thess. ii. 1.

[4] Acts xvii. 1.

[5] Strabo, Fragment 21, vol. I., p. 509. Thessalonica means victory over the Thessalians.

before Paul's day, but during that time it had become "the metropolis of the present Macedonia" as Strabo described it.

Unlike Roman Philippi, Thessalonica had remained a Greek city. It had been made a free city, which means that it ruled itself instead of having Roman rulers sent to it.[6] The Greek rulers were called Politarchs as Luke tells us, and as recently found inscriptions confirm.[7] In one inscription which was on an arch dating from Paul's day and which stood in Thessalonica until recently over the western entrance on the Egnatian way there are six politarchs named, also a city treasurer and a "gymnasiarch," who would perhaps have charge of the schools. The oldest building now in Thessalonica is a mosque which was once a temple of Venus and later a Christian Church. In the entrance of these three disciples of Jesus we see the force that produced the Christian Church.[8]

As at Philippi, so here Paul finds the Jewish synagogue the door of entrance to the people, but he seems to have interested Greeks rather than Jews, for his letter to the Thessalonian Christians addresses them as though they were all Greeks who had been idolators:

"Ye turned unto God from idols to serve a living and true God."[9]

This means that Paul spoke his message not only to the "devout Greeks" who went to the synagogue, but the devotees of the temple of Venus. Did the Jews

[6] A number of coins read, "Thessalonica the Free."

[7] Acts xvii. 6, 8. The Greek word translated "rulers" is politarchs. See Burton's "The Politarchs," "Amer. Jour. of Theology," II., 1898. Or Hastings, Dict. of Bib., Article "Rulers of the City."

[8] The present city is called Saloniki, or Salonik or Salonika. It has 150,000 inhabitants, 90,000 Spanish Jews. They sent troops to the recent revolution in Turkey and received the Sultan when he abdicated. There are still many Greeks living in the city.

[9] 1 Thess i. 9. Acts xvii. 4 also indicates that the largest number of converts were "devout Greeks."

turn him out and did Paul continue his work after the three weeks which Luke mentions[10] perhaps in the house of Jason ? This seems probable since he seems to have been there long enough to set up business in his trade of tent-making, for he says :

" Ye remember, brethren, our labour and travail—working night and day, that we might not burden any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God."[11]

Preaching and tent-making seemed to go together well for Paul. He preferred to earn his own living, though, as he says, we " might have been burdensome as apostles of Christ."[12] This sounds as though Silas and Timothy worked with him. It certainly implies that they, too, did not receive help from the people to whom they preached. Only one exception was made ; they accepted help twice from their friends, the Philippians. This, too, makes it probable that they were in Thessalonica more than three weeks. Paul himself speaks of it thus :

" Ye yourselves know, ye Philippians, that in the beginning of the gospel . . . no church had fellowship with me in the matter of giving and receiving, but ye only ; for even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my need."[13]

This shows that it was not easy for Paul to live up to this ideal of his by which he hoped to prove that he preached the Gospel out of pure love. He had " need," but he worked " night and day " that he might live up to his ideal of speaking " not as pleasing men but God." No doubt he found himself rewarded by the new friends it brought him, for the fact that he was a worker would also interest many of the manual workers of the community. Apparently those who became Christians in Thessalonica were many of them hand workers, for Paul

[10] Acts xvii. 2.
[11] 1 Thess. ii. 9.
[12] 1 Thess ii. 6.
[13] Phil. iv. 15, 16. Compare 2 Cor. xi. 9 and Phil. iv. 14.

"charged" them, saying, "Do your own business" and "work with your hands," and later, when they needed it, wrote and reminded them of this teaching.[14] Such words would be received with grace from a man who knew what hard manual labour meant. So earnestly and joyously did Paul labour "night and day," that he might give the "gospel of God" to these working people, that he afterwards said of this time:

"We were well pleased to impart unto you not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were become very dear to us."[15]

Such devotion insured that no one should accuse him of speaking his "exhortation" "in guile," "using words of flattery," nor "seeking glory of men."[16] So entirely above reproach did he live that he could write:

"Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily and righteously and unblameably we behaved ourselves toward you that believe; as ye know how we dealt with each one of you, as a father with his own children, exhorting you, and encouraging you, and testifying, to the end that ye should walk worthily of God, who calleth you into his own Kingdom and glory."[17]

With such a life before them and such careful and devoted work being done for them, no wonder that the Thessalonians received the "word of the message" not "in word only, but also in power"; no wonder that they "accepted it not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God";[18] no wonder that they became imitators of Paul "and of the Lord";[19] no

[14] 1 Thess. iv. 11.
[15] 1 Thess. ii. 8.
[16] 1 Thess. ii. 3-6.
[17] 1 Thess. ii. 10-12.
[18] 1 Thess. ii. 13.
[19] 1 Thess. i. 6.

wonder that Paul's labour "was not in vain."[20] Who could resist such a union of joy, work and love?

Apparently one thing that Paul taught at Thessalonica was the Parousia or Coming of the Lord Jesus.[21] "Ye turned unto God," he says, "to wait for his Son from heaven whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus, which delivereth us from the wrath to come."[22]

On the road to Damascus when God revealed His Son in him, Paul was entirely convinced that Jesus lived; we have seen that ever since that time he has believed that Jesus is Messiah; we have seen that he has felt the power of the Christ-life within him, but now for the first time we see that he is expecting Jesus to return as Messiah on the clouds.[23] It reminds us at once of the teaching which Paul had when a young Pharisee in Jerusalem,[24] and makes it clear that Paul has not forgotten his teaching. The word Messiah had then meant to Paul, he who will appear and introduce the new era, and when he was convinced that Jesus was this One he supposed, of course, that his Parousia would take place sometime soon. If Paul taught this in Thessalonica he must have believed it from the first, because it was such a well-known Pharisaic idea, and, no doubt, was held by Peter and other early disciples. Indeed, it was so entirely familiar that it probably did not occupy Paul's thought so much as the conception which was entirely new to him, namely, that Jesus, the Risen

[20] 1 Thess. ii. 1; iii. 5.

[21] 1 Thess. ii. 19; iii. 13.

[22] 1 Thess. i. 10. It is somewhat strange that Paul does not call Jesus the Son of Man, especially when speaking of his coming, since Jewish literature and the Gospels speak thus of the Coming Messiah. Perhaps Paul discarded it because it would have no meaning to Gentiles; Paul uses "Son of God," and "Lord," the later having wide use in the Roman Empire to denote mastery and superiority, as well as Old Testament connections.

[23] 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.

[24] See chap. III., pp. 38-41.

One, the Indwelling One, the One who abolishes the Law and introduces faith and love—he is the Messiah. Still we see here that Paul had not discarded the Pharisaic idea of the wonderful Parousia of the Messiah, and that it took strong hold of the minds of some of the Greeks who heard him preach to whom it would be newer.[25]

But the Jews were angered by Paul's teaching that Jesus is the Messiah, and by his success among the "chief women" and the "devout Greeks."[26] Therefore, they hired ruffians from the streets to help them assault the house of Jason to bring Paul and his friends out to the mob. When they made the assault they failed to find Paul, and instead "dragged Jason and several brethren" forth. Was Jason skilful and magnanimous enough to get Paul away, and take the rough treatment himself? Dragged before the Politarchs he found himself accused of harbouring revolutionists—"these that have turned the world upside down"; and traitors—those who "act contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying there is another King, one Jesus."[27] These were serious charges, indeed, the charge of traitor

[25] This word *Parousia* was a common one in a Greek city like Thessalonica. When a King or Emperor was about to visit a city the people were told to prepare for his "Parousia." For instance, on one occasion people were told "to expect earnestly the Parousia of Antiochus," and there is a reference to the Parousia of a God—"and Asclepius manifested his Parousia." When Augustus visited Corinth Parousia coins were struck. So when Paul talked to the people about the Coming of Jesus, it would not seem strange to them. For these references, and for further study of the word, see Deissman's "Light from the East," pp. 372-378. One example he gives is a papyrus from Egypt about 113 B.C., which reads, "And applying ourselves diligently, both night and day, unto fulfilling that which was set before us and the provision of 80 artabal which was imposed for the parousia of the King." A later inscription reads—"in the year 69 of the first parousia of the God Hadrian in Greece." See also Milligan "St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians," p. 145 ff.

[26] Acts xvii. 3, 4.

[27] Acts xvii. 5, 6, 7.

was the same that brought death to Jesus and to Stephen. But the Politarchs probably knew that it was not literally true, and they pronounced the minimum sentence—"security from Jason," that is, assurance that there should be no more disturbance.[28] But how could one be sure that there would be no more commotion so long as Paul was present? So "the brethren immediately sent away Paul, and Silas (and Timothy?) by night unto Berœa."[29] It is to this persecution of the Jews, which doubtless had been going on for some time before it drove Paul out of the city, that he refers in his letter:

"Ye received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost."[30]

Paul suddenly finds himself separated again from those whom he loves. He had been as "gentle in the midst" of them "as when a nurse cherishes her own children,"[31] nevertheless he is compelled to be "bereaved of" them "in presence," though "not in heart."[32] But one splendid thing about Paul's work is that he does not make those whom he helps dependent on himself. They are closely bound to him, indeed, but they have not accepted his Gospel on his "word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Spirit, and in much assurance."[33] They themselves have seen the reasons; they themselves have known of the power of the Holy Spirit within them. They have become

[28] Acts xvii. 8, 9.

[29] Acts xvii. 10.

[30] 1 Thess. i. 6.

[31] 1 Thess. ii. 7.

[32] 1 Thess. ii. 17. Paul does not mention the names of any who made up this Thessalonian brotherhood, but Luke speaks of "Aristarchus and Secundus" as Thessalonians.—Acts xx. 4. He speaks also of a certain Gaius as a Macedonian and associates him with Aristarchus. Hence Gaius may possibly be a Thessalonian.—Acts xix. 29

[33] 1 Thess. i. 5.

"sons of light and sons of the day."[34] Paul calls them all "brethren beloved,"[35] thus indicating that they are sharers with him in the life of the spirit. How he rejoices in them the following words show:

"For what is our hope, or joy, or crown, or glorying? Are not even ye before our Lord Jesus at his coming? For ye are our glory and our joy."[36]

[34] 1 Thess. v. 5.

[35] The term "brother" was one which the early Christians naturally adopted.—Acts ii. 29, 37, etc. It was used as the address for the members of different sorts of societies. See Milligan's "Thessalonians," p. 8. It was, no doubt, used by Paul and others because it just suited the relation of fellowship in which they found themselves. See Mk. iii. 34.

[36] 1 Thess ii. 19, 20.

CHAPTER XIII

PAUL PROCLAIMS THE RISEN CHRIST IN ATHENS

To the city of Berœa which "lies at the foot of Mount Bermius,"[1] an "out-of-the-way town,"[2] Paul and Silas and probably Timothy went. Luke says they found the people "more noble than those of Thessalonica" because they "received the word with all readiness of mind, examining the Scripture daily whether these things were so."[3]

It is, perhaps, while here at Berœa that Paul goes over into the region of Illyricum lying to the north-west, for later he says he had preached "round about even unto Illyricum."[4] But again his successful work is stopped by enemies, this time by imported enemies—the Jews from Thessalonica. And again "immediately the brethren sent forth Paul." They seemed to want to make sure that he got far enough away this time to be out of the reach of these enemies, for when they reached the sea, that is, Dium, "they that conducted Paul" took ship with him and "brought him as far as Athens." Apparently these conductors of Paul went straight back to Beroea and Paul sent by them "a commandment unto Silas and Timothy that they should come to him with all speed."[5] Of this we have no

[1] Strabo I., p. 511. Fragment 26.

[2] Cicero, In Piso, 36.

[3] Acts XVII. 10-13.

[4] Rom. xv. 19. There is no other reference in Paul's letters to work in Beroea or vicinity, except when he is "Macedonia" making the collection for Jerusalem. See ch. XVIII., p. 200. Illyricum was approximately the territory along the Adriatic now known as Bosnia, Montenegro and Albania.

[5] Acts xvii. 14, 15.

account from Paul himself but we do know that Timothy, at least, joined him[6] for Paul writes to the Thessalonians:

"We brethren, being bereaved of you for a short time, in presence, not in heart, endeavoured the more exceedingly to see your face with great desire; because we would have fain come up unto you, I, Paul once and again; and Satan hindered us. . . Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left behind at Athens alone; and sent Timothy, our brother and God's minister in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith; that no man be moved by these afflictions. . . For this cause I also, when I could no longer forbear, sent that I might know your faith, lest by any means the tempter had tempted you and our labour should be in vain."[7]

Paul's heart is back in Macedonia; he longs for the fellowship of the Christians there; he wants to return to Thessalonica but "Satan hinders him," by which he probably means the persecution by the Jews[8] there, which, his words indicate, he thinks is still going on. Finally he determines to send Timothy to help them "lest by any means the tempter had tempted" them, although it means that Paul has to be left behind alone, which he evidently does not like. Paul was a worker; he did not like idleness, and he liked companionship. Probably Silas had also come to Athens as Paul had requested and had been sent off on a similar errand to Philippi, for later when the two join Paul at Corinth probably it is Silas who brings the money from Philippi[9]

[6] Luke probably did not know that Timothy did join Paul in Athens, for Acts xvii. 16; xviii. 1, gives the impression that Paul waited awhile for Timothy and Silas, and finally went on to Corinth without them. Probably Luke knew that Paul was alone when he made his speech and supposed that Timothy and Silas had not come at all.

[7] 1 Thess. ii. 17, 18; iii. 1-5.

[8] Since Paul in the above passage calls the "afflictions" "the tempter," he could certainly refer to the whole persecution that had driven him out as "Satan."

[9] 2 Cor. xi. 9; Phil. iv. 15

since it is Timothy who brings messages from Thessalonica."[10]

Here, then, is Paul in the heart of Greece unexpectedly, alone and longing to be in Macedonia.[11] Nevertheless, he cannot be oblivious to the fact that he is at the intellectual centre of the world, and he cannot help being interested in the buildings, statues and altars that are an expression of the inner life of the people. Visitors may yet see the ruins of some of the things that Paul must have seen in Athens. Let us look at some of these things. There is the great, ancient, out-door theatre of Dionysus, built into the south slope of the Acropolis.[12] Would Paul, perhaps, have gone to see a play by Aeschylus? Certainly he could there see one of the ways in which the Athenian people thought about some of the great problems of life.[13] There is the recently rebuilt stadium, which was the scene of the

[10] 2 Cor. xi. 9; 1 Thess. iii. 6.

[11] Of course, Paul may have delivered the sermon while he was alone before Silas and Timothy joined him, but it seems more likely that he would leave Athens soon after the address that had so little success.

[12] This is the most ancient theatre in the world. It was here that, in the fifth century B.C., the drama developed out of the religious rites used in the worship of the god Dionysus. In Paul's day Nero built a new stage to the theatre.

[13] There is an inscription at Miletus in the fifth row from the front of the theatre, which reads:

"Place of the Jews, who are also called God-fearing."

Philo, the Alexandrian Jew, certainly went to the theatre, for he writes.:

"At all events I have before now seen at the theatre, when I have been there, some persons so influenced by a melody of those who were exhibiting on the stage, whether dramatists or musicians, as to be excited and to join in the music, uttering encomiums without intending it; and I have seen others at the same time so unmoved that you would think there was not the least difference between them and the inanimate seats on which they were sitting, and others so disgusted that they have even gone away and quitted the spectacle, stopping their ears with their hands, lest some atom of a sound, being left behind and still sounding in them, should afflict annoyance on their morose and unpleasable souls."—Philo—English translation by Yonge, vol. I., ch. XLIII., p. 489.

Panathenaic games. Certainly Paul may have gone to this, for he often draws illustrations from games. There is the exquisitely wrought monument of Lysikrates, who once won the tripod in the games of the festival of Dionysus. There is the " Tower of the Winds " which accommodated a water-clock, a sun-dial and a weather-vane. It is decorated with figures of the winds, the north wind being " a cross-looking old man in a heavy cloak," while the other winds are as suitably represented. Did Paul perhaps get the time of day from this tower in the Roman market-place ? There is the platform of the Pnyx where once the democratic Ecclesia of the Athenians met and made its laws and where orators brought their causes before the Athenian people. There is the recently excavated street of tombs that led out of the Greek market-place. There is the splendidly preserved Theseum, which was probably dedicated to Hephaestus, the divine smith who was worshipped by artisans, especially metal-workers. There are the ruins of the Asclepieum, a temple to Asclepius, the god of healing. People came and stayed all night in the temple, and sometimes were cured of their disease by morning.[14] There are standing several columns of the colossal temple to Olympian Zeus. This temple might specially interest Paul because much of it was built by that Syrian ruler, Antiochus Epiphanes, who had conducted such terrible persecutions in Jerusalem with the hope of inducing the Jews to accept Greek religion and culture. In fact, everywhere one looked there were temples and altars to various gods and, standing up in splendour above them all, were the temples of the Acropolis, the chief of which was the Parthenon, adorned with marvellous sculptures[15] and enclosing the colossal statue of Athena the goddess of wisdom. Among these

[14] Aristophanes, in his " Phitus," tells of a blind man who received his sight through a visit to Asclepius.

[15] Lord Elgin took some of these sculptures to England, and the people of England paid for them. So a visitor to the British Museum to-day can see what Paul must have seen. See " Elgin Room " of British Museum.

temples walked Paul, who knew himself to be a temple of God.

Luke's[16] account of Paul in Athens tells us that "his spirit was provoked within him, as he beheld the city full of idols." Although he apparently had not thought of working here more than to reason with the "Jews and devout persons" in the synagogue, yet all these temples and images stirred up his spirit to make his contribution to these people who were so evidently interested in religion. Therefore, he adopted the method of the Athenian people, and went into the Agora, or market-place, to talk with those he met just as Socrates had done. Athens contained a university, indeed, it had been the model for Tarsus and other university centres. The "strangers" referred to in Acts[17] are, of course, the students who came from all over the Roman Empire; the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers were some of the lecturers. The Epicureans were sometimes called the "Garden Philosophers" because their lectures were given in the garden of Epicurus; the Stoics frequented the Painted Porch in the Agora and it was here in the market-place that the students heard the informal debates which occurred when philosophers of different schools met. Into this university circle came Paul with his Gospel, and the philosophers "encountered him" just as they did each other. But they saw that he did not bear the usual university stamp, so they called him a "babbler" or a "hanger-on" or a "picker-up-of-learning's-crumbs."[18] He seemed to be a setter-forth of strange gods, they said, when he spoke of Jesus and the Resurrection.[19] Then

[16] Since Paul so distinctly tells us that he was left "alone in Athens," it is a problem how Luke got the report about it, but Paul himself may have told him the chief points.

[17] Acts xvii. 21.

[18] Acts xvii. 18. This word is apparently some of the university slang of the time, so it is hard to know exactly the sense in which it was used. See Ramsay "St. Paul the Traveller," p. 42, for fuller discussion.

[19] Apparently they so far misunderstood Paul as to think he was talking about a god named Resurrection.

they laid hold upon him, and brought him *unto* or *before* the Areopagus. Now there is a rocky hill called the Areopagus, rising abruptly above the site of the ancient market-place. The ancient court of the Areopagus[20] sometimes met on the rock, and sometimes in the King's Porch in the Agora. Did these philosophers and students take Paul to this rock for a quiet talk, or did they take him to the court to be tried? The charge of bringing in new gods was that upon which Socrates was condemned to death before the Areopagus court, years before, but it seems hardly possible that it could any longer be a crime in Athens where it was now "easier to find a god than a man." Furthermore, the rest of the scene does not seem like a trial. There is no charge and Paul's speech is not a defence. Hence it does not seem possible that Paul was taken to the court for trial, as a violator of Athenian law. It is probable, however, that this court had some jurisdiction over the lectures of the Agora. Certainly anyone could appear there and speak, but if he continued daily and attracted students he would become a part of the university. Probably the court had a right to say who should continue as teachers of the youth of Athens.[20a] Was Paul taken before the court to be examined as a lecturer? This seems the most probable conclusion.

[20] The meaning of the word Areopagus is unknown. It has been supposed to be connected with the god Ares or Mars and has, therefore, been translated Mars Hill. But Mars has never been worshipped here, whereas the Furies have from ancient times been thought to live in a cleft of the rock. Perhaps the name Areopagus was connected with the curses (Arae) which they were thought to pronounce upon wrong-doers. The court of the Areopagus was connected with the belief in the Furies especially in its judgment of murder cases. In various periods of Greek history this court seems to have dealt with many other matters also, especially religious and educational. See Art. Areopagus in Ency. Brit.

[20a] The evidence that the court did have jurisdiction over education is as follows:

The Stoic philosopher, Cleanthes, who was famous, among other things, for having earned his living in rather unique ways in Athens (see ch. VI., p. 68), and some of whose poetry Paul

It certainly looks as though Luke were thinking of the Court rather than the hill when he says, "And Paul stood *in the midst* of the Areopagus"[21] and this seems the only possible reason for the court to hear him. Paul, then, makes this speech to some of the officials of Athens, philosophers, students and such others, perhaps, as chose to come into the "King's Porch" in the Agora or possibly up to the top of the Areopagus rock.[21a] Luke's report of Paul's "speech"[22] begins thus:

"Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye

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certainly knows, was also brought before the Areopagus once Diogenes Laertes tells about it thus:

"They also say that on one occasion he was brought before a court of justice, to be compelled to give an account of what his sources of income were from which he maintained himself in such good condition; and that then he was acquitted, having produced as his witness the gardener, in whose garden he drew the water, and a woman who was a meal-seller, in whose establishment he used to prepare the meal. And the judges of the Areopagus admired him, and voted that ten minae should be given to him; but Zeno forbade him to accept them."—Diogenes Laertius, "Lives of the Philosophers," translation by Yonge, p. 324.

Plutarch in his life of Cicero, also gives an instance of the Areopagus' dealing with the affairs of the university. He says:

"He obtained of Cæsar, when in power, the Roman Citizenship for Cratippus, the Peripatetic, and got the court of Areopagus, by public degree, to request his stay at Athens, for the instruction of their youth, and the honour of their city."—Plutarch's Cicero, p. 24.

[21] Acts xvii. 22.

[21a] It is certain that the Areopagus held all murder trials out in the open air on top of the Areopagus. It is possible that they dealt with some other matters there also. Paul, then, might possibly have made his speech on the rock in the midst of the court. But it is more probable that educational matters were dealt with in the meeting-place of the court in the Agora—the "King's Porch." What may be the foundations of this porch have recently been excavated by Dörpfeld.

[22] Of course it cannot be supposed that Luke had a verbatim account of Paul's speech, but Paul himself may have told Luke how he approached these Greek philosophers. In that case, he may have told him the substance of his opening words, with his reference to the altar to an unknown god, the quotation from

are very religious.[23] For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription,

TO AN UNKNOWN GOD."[24]

A traveller to Athens a few years after Paul also noted this religious interest, for he said of the Athenians, "These people indeed are not only remarkable for their philosophy, but excel other nations in piety to the gods";[25] he also mentioned among many other altars those of "so-called unknown gods."[26] But Paul can not be a mere observer like Pausanias. Paul has a word to say to this religious people. He whom they "worship in ignorance" he sets forth as "the God that made the world and all things therein." He points out that this One God "has made of one all the nations of the earth." Paul must know that these words will not sound strange at all to most of his audience. In spite of the many altars, the philosophers certainly and probably the

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one of their poets and their attitude to his mention of the resurrection. See McGiffert, "Apostolic Age," pp. 256-260, who thinks Luke had a document telling about Athens. But the points he emphasizes prove that Luke had information, not necessarily a document.

[23] Acts xvii. 22, 23. This is the translation of the American Revision. The words "very religious" are certainly much better than "somewhat superstitious," for while the word can have either meaning, Paul would certainly not have antagonized his hearers by calling them superstitious, and Luke was too skilful to represent him as doing so.

[24] There has recently been found, at Pergamon, in north-west Asia Minor, an altar which is somewhat broken, but probably reads thus:

"To the Unknown Gods
Capiton
Torchcarrier."

Evidently some one named Capiton who has taken part in a religious procession, has had some cause for setting up a tablet to the Unknown Gods. For an excellent picture of this altar, see Deissman's "St. Paul," p. 262.

[25] Pausanius. Des. of Greece, I., xvii. 1.

[26] Pausanius, I., i. 4.

members of the court, and some of the students would agree with him that there really was but One God behind all his manifestations. It was only the ignorant rabble that still thought of many gods. Paul indicates his agreement with his listeners in the belief in the One God and Father by citing one of their poets:

"For we are all his offspring."

These words came from the hymn of Cleanthes, the Stoic philosopher, of whom Paul probably learned in Tarsus, and whose poetry would certainly be familiar to most of Paul's audience. The passage shows a high idea of God:

"O God, most glorious, called by many a name,
Nature's great King, through endless years the same;
Omnipotence, who by thy just decree
Controllest all, hail Zeus, for unto thee
Behoves thy creatures in all lands to call.
We are thy children, we alone, of all

On earth's broad ways that wander to and fro,
Bearing thy image wheresoe'er we go,
Wherefore with songs of praise thy power I will forth show."[27]

That the Epicureans also thought of a God is shown by the following words from Epicurus, their founder:

"First believe that God is a being blessed and immortal, according to the notion of a God commonly

[27] Translation of Dr. James Adams. Quoted by Hicks—"Stoics and Epicureans," p. 14.

Aratus, a poet of Soli, also uses the same words in the following connection:

"Let us begin with Zeus, the power we mortals never leave
Unsaluted. Zeus fills all the city streets,
All the nations' crowded marts; fills the watery deeps,
And heavens: every labour needs the help of Zeus.
His children are we. He, benignant,
Raises high signals, summoning man to toil,
And warning him of life's demands."

—"The Skies and Forecasts of Aratus," translated by E. Poste. Paul may have been quoting Aratus, but the hymn of Cleanthes would be much more widely known.

held amongst men; and so believing thou shalt not affirm of him aught that is contrary to immortality and that agrees not with blessedness."[28]

What, then, was it that stirred up Paul to give a message to these philosophers and students? Two things Luke's account indicates: first, the inconsistency of their "idols." If they believed in One God why should they have idols? "Being, then, the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the God-head is like unto gold or silver."[29] Nor should he be "served by men's hands as though he needed anything, seeing he himself giveth to all life and breath."[30]

Second, their ignorance about God. The nearness,[31] the love, the helpfulness of God, especially as shown in the risen Jesus, was what Paul wanted to tell these Athenians, for it was just at this point that the help of the philosophers failed. They had little to say about how one could find this eternal God. The Stoic did believe that God manifested himself in the Logos or Word, but only a few were able to hear this Word. Cleanthes speaks thus of "the universal Word that flows through all":

> "One Word through all things everlastingly.
> One Word—whose voice, alas! the wicked spurn;
> Insatiate for the good their spirits yearn;
> Yet seeing see not, neither hearing hear
> God's universal law, which those revere,
> By reason guided, happiness to win.
> The rest, unreasoning, diverse shapes of sin
> Self-prompted follow: for an idle name
> Vainly they wrestle in the lists of fame:
> Others inordinately Riches woo,
> Or dissolute, the joys of flesh pursue.
> Now here, now there they wander, fruitless still;
> Forever seeking good and finding ill."

[28] From the letter of Epicurus to Menoeceus, Epicurea, p. 59. Quoted by Hicks, "Stoics and Epicureans," p. 167.

[29] Acts xvii. 29

[30] Acts xvii. 25.

[31] Acts xvii. 27, 28

This "Universal Word" of "God's universal law," as set forth by the Stoics is probably in Paul's mind when he says later that Gentiles "show the work of the law written in their hearts"[32] and "that which may be known of God is manifest in them."[33] But he realizes that for most people this has not availed even to give the knowledge that there is One God.

"They became vain in their reasonings and their senseless heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible man."[34] The thought of Cleanthes is almost parallel:

> "The rest, unreasoning, diverse shapes of sin
> Self prompted follow; . . .
> . . . . . .
> Forever seeking good and finding ill."

That the Epicureans had no way of finding God is shown by one of their poets, who says:

"For the nature of gods must ever in itself of necessity enjoy immortality together with supreme repose, far removed and withdrawn from our concerns; since exempt from every pain, exempt from all dangers, strong in its own resources, not wanting aught of us, it is neither gained by favours nor moved by anger."[35]

In place of this distance from God and failure to find him Paul has Good News, "a power of God unto salvation"[36] to everyone that has faith. He knows that a new era has dawned when the nearness to God is proved by his revelation in Jesus Christ "who was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to

[32] Rom. ii. 15.

[33] Rom. i. 19.

[34] Rom. i. 2-23. It is in this later letter to the Romans that Paul most definitely states his thought about the religion of the Gentiles and the relation of his Gospel to it.

[35] Lucretius II., 646, p. 290, Hicks, "Stoics and Epicureans."

[36] Rom. i. 16.

the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead."[37] But when Paul spoke of the resurrection the Athenians mocked. It is interesting, however, that Dionysius, one of the members of the Areopagite court, is said to have been convinced, as also one woman, Damaris.[38] But Paul does not seem to feel encouraged by the situation in Athens ; whether he was told by the Areopagite court not to lecture in the market-place or whether he felt that it was no use speaking to people who did not seem to be seeking truth to put into practice in life, but only cared to hear some new thing each day[39] to argue about, we have no information, but at any rate Paul left Athens and went to Corinth, perhaps going by boat from Piraeus, the harbour of Athens, to Cenchreae and walking across the Corinthian isthmus.

[37] Rom. i. 4 ; Acts xvii. 30, 31.
[38] Acts xvii. 32, 33.
[39] Acts xvii. 21.

CHAPTER XIV

THE THESSALONIANS SAVED FROM OTHER-WORLDLINESS

" Two-sea'd Corinth " lay at the foot of a " lofty perpendicular mountain,"[1] known as the Acrocorinthus. From the top of this mountain is one of the most magnificent views in Greece. A large number of the places important in Greek history lie under one's eye and at their centre, Corinth. The city had been almost completely destroyed, a century-and-a-half before Paul's day,[2] but had re-established itself because of its unique position. Situated on the narrow isthmus uniting the two chief sections of Greece, all travellers from north to south must pass through Corinth; travellers by ship between Rome and the East also preferred to come to one of the two harbours of Corinth and transfer their cargo across the nine miles of the isthmus rather than risk shipwreck in going around the south of Greece.[2a] The cunning Corinthians exacted toll from all who imported goods by land or sea, and thus made the city wealthy. The Isthmian games also brought great numbers of people to Corinth and many artists came, for here " flourished painting and modelling and every art of this kind."[3] Corinth rather than Athens was the commercial centre of Greece. It was a city full of Roman enterprise, although the mass of the people were Greek.

[1] Strabo VIII., vi. 21.

[2] Destroyed by the Roman Consul, Mummius, in 146 B.C.

[2a] It is about nine miles across from Corinth to Cenchreae but the narrowest part of the isthmus where the modern canal has been cut is four-and-a-half miles.

[3] Strabo VIII., vi. 20 and 23.

When Paul entered this busy thriving city with its marble decorated market-place and fine bazaars, he came as a humble working-man. He looked about for a chance to work at his tent-making and "he found a certain Jew named Aquila, a man of Pontus[4] by race lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome. and Paul "came unto them; and because they were of the same trade he abode with them, and they wrought; for by their trade they were tent-makers."[5]

Here, then, is Paul working side by side with a Jew. How long was it before Aquila discovered that he had taken into his shop a man who was active with his mind and spirit as well as with his hands? When did he discover that this fellow tent-maker had ideas that were of the greatest interest? How many talks they must have then had about Jesus, the Messiah, as they worked together cutting out and sewing up the heavy tent-cloth. And in the evening, in the home, Priscilla, the Roman[6] wife of Aquila, probably became as deeply interested as her husband and soon instead of one Christian in Corinth there were three, two tent-makers and a woman.[7] Could they affect the wealthy wicked city of Corinth?

Here Paul's messengers from his loved Macedonian churches find him at his tent-making and bring their

[4] In North Asia Minor.

[5] Acts xviii. 2, 3. Claudius drove Jews from Rome in 50 A.D. Suetonius "Claudius," 25, says, that the expulsion was "due to the action of Chrestus," which seems to imply that Christ was wrongly thought to be still living. This came, no doubt, from the use of the name Christian.

[6] Priscilla is the diminutive of Prisca. Perhaps she was a little lady. The name is Roman. Perhaps she belonged to a distinguished Roman family. Paul always speaks of her as Prisca.

[7] It is strange that Luke does not say that Aquila and Priscilla became Christians at this time, and it is just as strange that he does not mention it if they were Christians already. In 1 Cor. xvi. 15, Paul calls Stephanas, the "first-fruits of Achaia," but he is probably referring to his later work with the Greek residents.

messages and help. Paul speaks of this when writing to the Corinthians later:

"When I was present with you and was in want, I was not a burden on any man, for the brethren, when they came from Macedonia, supplied the measure of my want; and in everything I kept myself from being burdensome unto you."[8]

Paul's tent-making, it seems, had not kept him from being "in want." Perhaps Aquila had not been long enough in Corinth to have business yet well established. Nevertheless, Paul did not allow himself to be a burden on Aquila and Priscilla, but he was happy to receive the gift which Silas must have brought from Philippi.[9] But certainly as grateful as the money from Philippi were the messages, and perhaps a letter from Thessalonica. It is quite evident that Paul had not yet begun an active campaign in Corinth; he had come to Corinth only to wait for news from Macedonia which might allow him to return there. He thinks he is deprived of his Macedonian friends "for a short season" only, and is praying,

"Now may our God and Father himself, and our Lord Jesus, direct our way unto you."[10]

Thus he writes in reply to the message sent to him through Timothy and describes the receipt of that message thus:

"But when Timothy came even now unto us from you, and brought us glad tidings of your faith and love, and that ye have good remembrance of us always, longing to see us, even as we also to see you; for this cause, brethren, we were comforted over you in all our distress and affliction through your faith; for now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord."[11]

As Paul had worked away making tents with Aquila in Corinth he had been in distress lest the faith of the

[8] 2 Cor. xi. 9.

[9] Phil. iv. 15. See ch. XII., p. 128, 129.

[10] 1 Thess. ii. 17; iii. 11. [11] 1 Thess. iii. 6-8.

Thessalonians might have failed. Now life and joy return to him with the good news which Timothy brings, though he still is "night and day praying exceedingly" that he may see their faces, and "perfect that which is lacking" in their faith.[12]

But Timothy's report was not all good, for he said that there had been great persecution. It seemed that the Thessalonian brothers had suffered as much as the churches in Judæa.[13] This meant that Paul could not go back to them yet for that would only make matters worse for them. "Satan"[14] still hinders him from returning to his beloved Thessalonians, but he can at least write them a letter. This he does probably at once. This letter we have and from it can learn of the problems of the Thessalonian community since Paul left them, and how he dealt with them by letter.[15]

After *Greetings*[16] to the Church (ecclesia) from himself and Timothy and Silvanus (Silas), and *Thanksgiving* for their "work of faith" and labour of love and patience of hope";[17] after rejoicing that in spite of persecution they have so lived that they have become "an ensample unto all that believe, in Macedonia and Achaia," indeed, so lived that their "faith to Godward" has "gone forth" "in every place";[18] after many reminiscences of his work among them and expressions of love, Paul writes:

"Finally, then, brethren, we beseech and exhort you in the Lord Jesus Christ, that, as ye received of us how

[12] 1 Thess. iii. 9, 10.

[13] 1 Thess. ii. 14-16.

[14] 1 Thess. ii. 18.

[15] This is, of course, our 1 Thessalonians, from which we have already taken evidence for Paul's early work among them, for the sending of Timothy from Athens, etc. Now we will study the parts that tell of their condition since Paul left them.

[16] For the form of Paul's letters see ch. I. Ecclesia was the common word for assembly.

[17] 1 Thess. i. 3.

[18] 1 Thess. i. 7, 8; iv. 10.

ye ought to walk and to please God, even as ye do walk, that he abound more and more."[19]

Thus he sums up his approval of their life, yet he has a certain warning to utter. Timothy has reported something which makes Paul wish to remind the Thessalonians of the standards of absolute purity, that is, of "sanctification" which, when he was present, he had held up before them.

"For God has called us not for uncleanness," he writes, "but in sanctification."[20]

There are various indications in this Thessalonian letter that Paul is not only writing things like this warning against impurity that have probably been suggested by Timothy's report, but also that he is replying to a letter, now lost, brought from the Thessalonians. Note, for instance, how Paul says, "And for this cause *we also* thank God without ceasing."[21] implying that he is echoing something that they said in their letter. Especially does Paul introduce subjects in the latter part of this letter in a way that suggests that they had asked him about them, probably in a letter. For instance, "We would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them that fall asleep" implies that they had asked for knowledge about their part in the events of the end of the age.[22] Indeed, it would seem that their chief

[19] 1 Thess. iv. 1.

[20] 1 Thess. iv. 2-8.

[21] 1 Thess. ii. 13.

[22] Dr. Rendel Harris has made a clever reconstruction of this lost letter from the Thessalonians to Paul. He, of course, takes his evidence entirely from hints in the letter which we possess. His reconstruction is as follows:

"The church of the Thessalonians, to the beloved Paul, greeting. We give thanks to God on thy behalf continually (ii. 13), and have an unceasing remembrance of thee in our prayers (iii. 6), desiring earnestly to see thy face. For thy entrance to us has not been in vain (ii. 1), but thou has spoken to us the words of God in truth, without flattery and without covetousness (ii. 5), and we remember thy labour and thy toil on our behalf (ii. 9).

"And we have turned from the worship of dead idols to serve a true and living God, and wait for the return of His Son from

inquiries were relative to that subject. When in Thessalonica Paul had told them about the Parousia or Coming of Jesus to usher in the new era,[23] and some had become so excited that they had given up their work.[24] They wanted, therefore to know from Paul more "concerning the times and seasons."[25] Paul replies:

"Yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night."

No doubt Paul is referring to what he had told them about the sudden Parousia of Jesus, but also, perhaps, to their knowledge of one of Jesus' brief parables about the Master of the house returning suddenly as a thief in the night even as the Son of Man will return.[26] But though Paul thus reaffirms his belief in the sudden Coming of Jesus, he points out that this should give no cause for alarm to disciples.

"For," he says, "ye are all sons of the light and sons of the day."[27]

The hope that Jesus is soon to return ought to make them live up to their highest ideals, neither on the one

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Heaven. And we have become imitators of thee (i. 6; ii. 14), and of the churches of God in Judæa, and of thy patience and of theirs in those afflictions whereunto we are appointed. And thou hast been to us as a nursing father (ii. 11, 9), even as Moses carried the people in the wilderness, exhorting us to walk worthily of the Kingdom and Glory of God. And even as thou didst declare to us that we should suffer for the Kingdom of God, so it came to pass.

"But we desire to know (iv. 13) concerning them that are fallen asleep before the coming of the day of God, and what will be their portion when that day cometh suddenly as a thief (v. 8) upon the inhabitants of the earth, etc., etc.

"All our friends salute thee."

[23] See ch. XII., pp. 123, 124.

[24] 1 Thess. iv. 11.

[25] 1 Thess. v. 1.

[26] Mt. xxiv. 43, 44; Lk. xii. 39, 40. This comes from the oldest source for Jesus' teaching. Mt. and Lk. have both taken it from a book of Sayings. Perhaps the people at Thessalonica had a little book of Sayings of Jesus containing these words, or they may simply have known the saying.

[27] 1 Thess. v. 5.

hand to sleep nor on the other to be drunken with excitement, but rather to be sober and watchful. He writes:

"Let us, since we are of the day, be sober, putting on the breast-plate of faith and love; and for a helmet, the hope of salvation."[28]

To those who had given up their work, Paul further said, "Study to be quiet, and to do your own business." He reminded them of his earlier advice to them to "work with their own hands" implying that otherwise they might not "walk honestly."[29] Not all of the Thessalonians were so foolish as to give up their work, for Paul tells some of them to "admonish the disorderly, encourage the faint-hearted, support the weak."[30] Apparently they had some leaders who also took a saner view, for Paul says,

"Know those that labour among you; and are over you in the Lord . . . esteem them exceedingly highly in love for their work's sake."[31]

One special thing that the Thessalonians asked Paul was "concerning them that fall asleep."[32] Apparently, some of the community had died, perhaps as martyrs in the persecution, since Paul left, and their friends feared lest they might not share in the new age which the Coming of Jesus would bring. But Paul reassured them saying that even as they knew that "Jesus died and rose again" so they could be sure that "them also which are fallen asleep in Jesus will God bring with him." Their loved ones should share in the new age even though they have fallen asleep; indeed, those who

[28] 1 Thess. v. 6-8.

[29] 1 Thess iv. 11-12. Paul himself was working with his hands in Corinth when he wrote this.

[30] 1 Thess. v. 14.

[31] 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. One would like to know much more about these leaders. There is nothing to indicate that they had been appointed by Paul. This emphasis on their work probably implies that they were simply recognised or possibly appointed by their brethren as leaders because they had proved excellent workers.

[32] 1 Thess. iv. 13.

were alive at "the coming of the Lord" should "in no wise precede them that are fallen asleep."[33]

"For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord."[34]

Here we see what a dramatic programme Paul had in mind. Any day Jesus might suddenly descend from heaven and carry out this marvellous programme. Now this kind of programme was thoroughly Jewish; many writers had pictured wonderful events in connection with the coming of the Messiah. Daniel had spoken of the coming of the Son of Man "with the clouds of heaven," Zechariah had spoken of the coming of the Lord "with all the holy ones"; Enoch had said "Lo, he comes with ten thousands of holy ones," and many others had set forth in various ways the Coming, the Resurrection, the Judgment, and the Inauguration of the Messianic Kingdom.[35] All this early speculation

[33] 1 Thess. iv. 14, 15. In Jewish literature a special blessing is pronounced upon those who are alive at the coming of the Messiah. Dan. xii. 12, 13; 2 Esdras xiii. 24.

[34] 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.

[35] Dan. vii. 13; Zech. xiv. 5; Enoch i. 9. The books which best show this development in Jewish thought are the "Apocalyptic" books or Revelations of the future. This literature began to develop just before the time of Daniel, 170 B.C. and continued through the second century A.D. Indeed the apocalyptic book which contains the closest parallel to this apocalyptic programme of Paul's is a Christian apocalypse called the Testament of Hezekiah embedded in a book called "The Ascension of Isaiah," not put together before the end of the second century A.D. "The Testament of Hezekiah," however, may come from 88-100 A.D. Since it is written after Paul's time we cannot call it a source for Paul's thought; indeed, it may have been influenced by Paul, but it shows that such speculations were in the air in the first century. The passage which is most like Paul is as follows:

"And after (one thousand) three hundred and thirty-two days the Lord will come with His angels and with the armies of the

about the coming of the Messiah[36] was now associated by Paul and Peter and the early Christians[37] with Jesus, who was expected to come again to the earth and fulfil these hopes. They did not seem to feel that it was inconsistent with the teaching of Jesus. Indeed, Paul introduces his apocalyptic programme with the words, "This we say unto you by the word of the Lord,"[38] but we have no such saying reported from Jesus except the references to the coming of the Son of Man with the clouds.[39]

How strange that Paul should hold and teach this mistaken Jewish hope when he had been great enough to cast off the narrow Jewish idea of the law as the only approach to God! Still, it was only the method of

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holy ones from the seventh heaven with the glory of the seventh heaven. . . . And He will give rest to the godly whom He shall find in the body in this world. . . . But the saints shall come with the Lord with their garments which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven. With the Lord they will come, whose spirits are clothed, they will descend and be present in the world, and He will strengthen those who have been found in the body, together with the saints, in the garments of the saints, and the Lord will minister to those who have kept watch in this world. And afterwards they will turn themselves upward in their garments, and their body will be left in the world."—"The Ascension of Isaiah," R. H. Charles, pp. 34, 35. For another example of a late apocalypse with some points like Paul's, see 2 Esdras, vii. 26, ff.

[36] See ch. III., p.38-41. In 1 Cor. xvi. 22, Paul uses the Aramaic expression "Maran-atha"—Our Lord, come. The way in which he uses it shows that it was a much-used word among early Aramaic-speaking Christians, and shows their hope of Jesus' return. The earliest church liturgy also contains it.—"Teaching of the Twelve," X. 6.

[37] Acts iii. 19-21, etc.

[38] 1 Thess. iv. 15.

[39] Mk. xiv. 62, cf. Mk. xiii. 26, 27, etc. It is difficult to know just what Paul means by the "word of the Lord." Perhaps this is his explanation of the sayings in Mark, or of some saying that is lost, or perhaps he means that this seems in accordance with the Spirit of Jesus within him. For further consideration, see Lake's "Did Paul use the Logia?"—"Amer. Jour. of Theology," Jan., 1906.

realizing the hope that was wrong. The faith in Jesus as sure to triumph was well-founded and right, but that he would return on the clouds in that generation, that they could avoid death and meet him in the air, proved to be wrong. That was a part of the Jewish system of thought of the time which Paul shared.

> "Our little systems have their day,
> They have their day and cease to be;
> They are but broken lights of thee
> And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."[40]

Paul saw the light of God through his Jewish system of thought, and therefore the limitations of the system did little harm either to himself or others. It might have done much harm to the Thessalonians if Paul had not been great enough to see that the all-important thing was the truth underlying the system of thought, namely, that the life with Christ produces the Christ-like life and is the one hope of salvation. That Paul's interest centred in the salvation that results from living with Christ whether in this life or the next is shown by his words:

"For God appointed us not unto wrath, but unto the obtaining of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us, that, *whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him.*"[41]

That was the greatest thing to Paul's mind—to "live together with him," that is, to be in his presence whether in this world or the next, and that this meant to those who "wake," living the Christ-like life here and now, is shown by his next words:

"*Wherefore* exhort one another, and build each other up."[42]

Evidently a life of helpfulness in this present world was to follow naturally from living with Christ. To be

[40] Tennyson's "In Memoriam." Introduction.

[41] 1 Thess. v. 10.

[42] 1 Thess. v. 11. Paul never uses the words, Christ-like life, but it is hard to find any other words to describe the type of life which he always expects to follow the living "together with him."

sure, Paul never points to any part of the life of Christ as an example,[43] but that is because he thinks of Christ as far more than an outward example. He is the inner Spirit from which the Christ-like flows. Just as he tells them that they do not need to be advised "concerning love of the brethren"[44] because they themselves "are taught of God to love one another" so he refers to the "will of God in Christ Jesus" as the motive power for following "after that which is good, one toward another and toward all," of rejoicing always, of praying without ceasing, and giving thanks in everything[45].

Thus Paul by his sane high conception of the meaning of life saved himself and others from the other-worldliness which might have resulted from the expectation of the sudden return of Jesus. It was apparently his continuous consciousness of "Christ liveth in me"[46] or living "together with him" that gave him this high regard for the life of the present. Since we are living "together with him," our life now must be worthy of him, and to be worthy of him one must do one's work quietly and honestly. This Paul saw clearly as he worked away at his tent-making in Corinth, and learned that some of the Thessalonians were letting their life fall below the standard of purity and helpfulness. But Timothy was probably dispatched at once with the letter that must have made them feel that they had again come into actual touch with Paul himself and made them realize that their "spirit and soul and body" must "be preserved entire, without blame, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."[47]

[43] Unless Phil. ii. 5-8, is an exception, but here the emphasis is on having the "mind of Christ," rather than the following of his example of obedience.

[44] 1 Thess. iv. 9.

[45] 1 Thess. v. 15-18.

[46] Gal. ii. 20.

[47] 1 Thess. v. 23. It seems hard to know how to fit 2 Thess. into Paul's life and thought, for this reason many doubt whether Paul wrote it. The situation is well stated by Prof. Peake thus:

"The author seems to contradict the view as to the Second Coming expressed in the First Epistle. In 1 Thess. Paul appears to anticipate that the Second Coming is imminent, and expect that some, at least, of his readers and himself will survive till it takes place. In the Second Epsitle he tells them that they must not be led to think that it is at hand, especially mentioning that such an opinion might be derived from a letter professing to come from himself. A development of apostasy is first to take place, and the man of lawlessness to be revealed, and then slain on the appearance of Christ (2 Thess. ii. 1-12). The mention in ii. 2 of a letter which might be circulated in Paul's name, combined with the attestation of authenticity at the close (iii. 7), has not unnaturally raised the suspicion that the author wished to substitute his own composition for 1 Thess. with its uncongenial eschatology. . . . It is possible, however, to put the relations between the two Epistles in a favourable light without recourse to the hypothesis of non-authenticity. While Paul in the First Epistle anticipates that the Second Coming will take place in his own lifetime, he does not intend to convey the opinion that it will take place immediately. Some of the Thessalonians, however, probably through misunderstanding of his language, imagined that the Second Coming was imminent. To correct the restlessness and disorder which ensued, Paul wrote the Second Epistle to interpret the language of the First, warning them against forgeries and explaining that the Parousia cannot be imminent, inasmuch as a certain development which still lies in the future is to take place before it."—"A Critical Introduction of the New Testament," Arthur S. Peake, pp. 12, 13.

It is impossible on this evidence to decide certainly whether Paul wrote 2 Thess. or not. At any rate it adds very little to the knowledge of Paul, for it is almost exactly like 1 Thess., except the verses about the Second Coming. Therefore we will not further consider it.

CHAPTER XV

PAUL ESTABLISHES THE RELIGION OF THE SPIRIT IN CORINTH AND GALATIA.

On a marble block[1] broken away at both ends, there has recently been discovered in Corinth the Greek letters equivalent to the following:

AGOGEHEBR.

Undoubtedly this is part of an inscription which read in Greek:

Synagogue of the Hebrews.

It is not certain how old it is, but possibly this was the lintel over the door of the synagogue which Paul attended while he worked at tent-making with Aquila. At any rate Paul went to the Corinthian synagogue and found opportunity for taking part in the service and making known his message concerning Jesus, and after the news from Thessalonica he seems to have entered with new zeal into the synagogue preaching. This aroused the Jews, who so strenuously opposed him that he "shook out his raiment," saying,

"Your blood be on your own heads; I am clean; from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles."[2]

Paul then began teaching in the house of Titus Justus, near the synagogue, though he probably still continued to live and work with Aquila and Priscilla. But Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, had been so impressed by Paul's testifying that Jesus is the Messiah, that he left

[1] Discovered in 1896 by Richardson.

[2] Acts xviii. 6.

the synagogue and came to the house of Titus Justus, and Paul himself baptized him, though he seldom performed that rite.[3] Other Corinthians also came to the new place of worship among whom were probably the "household of Stephanas," which was the "first fruits of Achaia" and perhaps Gaius,[4] Fortunatus, Achaicus[5] and Chloe.[6]

Paul had not come to Corinth because he realized that the Spirit of Jesus had sent him there to work. He had come feeling that he had been wrongfully driven out of Thessalonica, and knowing that he had failed to accomplish much in Athens. Probably he is thinking of this when he says:

"I was with you in weakness, and in fear and much trembling."[7]

But Luke says that after the new work had begun in the house of Titus Justus, Paul had special assurance that he was in the right place, and that he would be strengthened to meet his enemies, the Jews.[8] Certainly Paul's Corinthian letters show that he felt that God was with him in founding the Corinthian Church.[9] Here, then, is one case where Paul does not see the leading of God until he is in the midst of his new work. When, however, he does see that God is leading him out into promising work, no opposition can stop him.

Not only in Corinth did Paul have occasion to know that the Jews made themselves his enemies, but it is probably while Paul is in the midst of his work here that word reaches him that Jewish teachers are destroying the work of his first missionary tour. They are

[3] Acts xviii. 7, 8; 1 Cor. i. 14.
[4] Acts xviii. 8; 1 Cor. i. 14-16; xvi. 15.
[5] 1 Cor. xvi. 17.
[6] 1 Cor. i. 11.
[7] 1 Cor. ii. 3.
[8] Acts xviii. 9, 10.
[9] 1 Cor. iii. 6, 9, etc.

persuading the Galatians[10] to accept the Jewish Law by preaching a "different gospel"[11] and that Paul's teachings ought not to be followed since he is not a true apostle. The Galatians have already begun keeping some of the Jewish days and seasons[12] and are considering whether or not they ought to be circumcised.[13] So Paul again ministers by letter to a far-away church.

"My little children," he writes, "of whom I am again in travail until Christ be formed in you . . . yea, I could wish to be present with you now, and to change my voice; for I am perplexed about you."[14]

Thus Paul writes to them apparently expecting them to understand why he cannot possibly come to them, why it was necessary instead to write with strong, almost harsh tones.[15] Surprise, perplexity and grief express themselves in the first words after the *Greeting* of the letter:

"I marvel that ye are so quickly removing from him that called you in the grace of Christ unto a different gospel. . . Though we or an angel from heaven, should preach unto you any gospel other than that which we preached unto you, let him be anathema."[16]

[10] How Paul learned about the Galatians we have no information. Had he, perhaps, sent Silas to Galatia when he sent Timothy back to Thessalonica? See ch. XIV., p. 149.

[11] Gal. i. 6.

[12] Gal. iv. 10.

[13] Gal. v. 2, 3.

[14] Gal. iv. 20.

[15] If Paul had been at Antioch or even at Ephesus it is difficult to see why he might not have gone to the Galatians. This taken with the fact that Paul implies that he has visited them twice before (iv. 13), is the chief reason for supposing that the Galatian letter was written at this time. Paul's first visit to Galatia was, of course, when he first preached to them (see ch. VIII.), and his second was when he stopped in Galatia on his way out toward Macedonia (see ch. XI., p. 106-110). If he is in the midst of new work opening in Corinth, it is easy to see why he could not leave it to go across the Ægean and to Galatia overland, since it would take so long.

[16] Gal. i. 6-10.

Because he is so fully convinced of the truth of this gospel which he was sent as an apostle to preach to the Galatians he feels that he must defend his apostleship in order to preserve the Gospel. It is for this reason that he begins with the words, "Paul, an apostle," and then tells of the events connected with his conversion. These events make it clear that he was, indeed, an apostle because he did not receive anything from the Jerusalem apostles during his few visits to them, but had his call direct from God.[17] He told them also about the conference in Jerusalem and the rebuke of Peter at Antioch to show that there was not even any evidence that the Jerusalem apostles wished the Galatians to keep the Law.[18] It seemed incomprehensible to Paul that the Galatians should wish to put themselves under the bondage of the Law.

"O foolish Galatians," he writes, "who did bewitch you before whose eyes Jesus Christ was set forth crucified? . . . Are ye so foolish? having begun in the Spirit are ye now perfected in the flesh?"[19]

It was the Gospel of the Spirit that Paul had preached to these people, the Gospel of Faith. They had received it by "the hearing of faith" not by any "works of the law,"[20] for they were Gentiles. But if they have suddenly become so much interested in the teaching of the Old Testament they would do well to consider the fact that Faith is older than Law and that the true sons of Abraham are those who are "of faith" for "Abraham believed (*i.e.*, had faith in) God and it was

[17] Gal. i. 1, 11, 12. Paul's words about these events we have studied for evidence as to the course of his life up to this point (Gal. i. 11-23).

[18] Gal. ii. 1-21. Paul certainly would not take told here of the rebuke of Peter if it had not been as complete a triumph for Paul's gospel at Antioch as the conference had been in Jerusalem (See ch. X., p. 104). Paul had visited the Galatians since the Jerusalem conference, but did not tell them about it probably because he had not thought of the possibility of their wishing to take up the Law.

[19] Gal. iii. 1-3.

[20] Gal. iii. 2, 5.

reckoned unto him for righteousness."[21] The Gospel of the Gentiles, that is, Justification by Faith, was realized by Abraham long before Moses wrote the Law.[22] Indeed, the only hope of standing before God justified, that is, uncondemned, is through Faith, for no one was ever able to keep the Law. All who try keeping the Law find themselves under a curse. This curse Christ has removed by his death and resurrection.[23] Why, then, should anyone wish to attempt to keep the Law? Does anyone suppose that the covenant made with Abraham was annulled by the coming of the Law 430 years later?[24] That is clearly absurd for even a human covenant once made is not made void by later covenants. Much more, then, does the promise of God made to Abraham still hold good.[25]

"What, then, is the law?" It was "added because of the transgression," that is, to show people that they are sinners by showing them that they cannot live up to its standard,[26] to make them want some new way of

[21] Gal. iii. 6, 7.

[22] Gal. iii. 8, 9. On how faith can justify, see ch. XVIII., pp. 205, 206.

[23] Gal. iii. 9-14. On *how* the death of Jesus removed the curse of the Law, see ch. VI., p. 56.

[24] The 430 comes from Ex. xii. 40, 41, compare Gen. xv. 13.

[25] Gal. iii. 15-18. Paul's argument from the text about "seeds," is a result of his Jewish education. Note, he says, that the promise was made to the *seed* of Abraham, not to his *seeds*, therefore to Christ as the bringer-in of Faith. As a matter of fact the word *seed* in Gen xii. 7; xiii. 15, etc., is plural in meaning. But, of coure, this style of argument was common among the Jews of Paul's day, and he now is dealing with the arguments of the Jews who are trying to win the Galatians to Judaism.

[26] Gal. iii. 19. This idea of the Law as ordained by angels comes from Deut. xxxiii. 2. The mediator of the Law, of course, was Moses. But what does verse 20 mean? It is, perhaps, that the new Faith covenant does not need a mediator since it is ordained directly through Christ who is one with the One God rather than by angels and Moses? At any rate the verse does not add anything important to Paul's main argument here.

righteousness. Now the Law cannot make people righteous because it cannot "make alive," that is, it gives no living impulse to righteousness; it can do nothing but "shut up all things under sin" so that people will long for "the promise by faith in Jesus Christ." Indeed, the Law never undertook to complete a man's education but only to act as a tutor to bring him to the chief teacher, Christ.

But now that "faith is come," how can anyone wish to be "kept in restraint," "under a tutor?"[27] How can anyone wish to be treated as a mere child?[28] Especially how can those who have been "in bondage to them which by nature are no gods" "desire to be in bondage over again" "to the weak and beggarly rudiments?"[29] It is like preferring to be the children of Hagar, the bondswoman, rather than children of Sarah, the free-woman; like choosing the present Jerusalem instead of the New Jerusalem. But we are "children of promise" like Isaac, not children of the handmaid who was cast out.[30]

Indeed, "Ye are all sons of God" and "heirs according to the promise," writes Paul, because ye have "put on Christ."[31] "For Christ came in the fulness of the time" "that we might receive the adoption of sons," and "because ye are sons, God sent forth the spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father."[32] We who are sons are therefore free from the Law. "With freedom did Christ set us free; stand fast therefore, and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage." Whoever receives circumcision throws away all the advantages gained through faith in Christ, indeed he is "severed from Christ."[33]

[27] Gal. iii. 21-25.
[28] Gal. iv. 1-3.
[29] Gal. iv. 8-11.
[30] Gal. iv. 21-31.
[31] Gal. iii. 26-29.
[32] Gal. iv. 4-7.
[33] Gal. v. 1-6.

Thus Paul wards off from the Galatians the danger of putting law and form in place of spirit. They are absolutely free; not one law or form is laid upon them. They are free to "walk by the Spirit." Paul seems to have the greatest confidence in people who are free to follow the spirit of God. Such will not use their "freedom for an occasion to the flesh"; they will not lord it over one another, but "through love be servants to one another." They will not produce "the works of the flesh" but the "fruit of the Spirit."[34] Thus Paul wins back the Galatians to trust in the life issuing from the Spirit of Christ within.

He takes the pen from the scribe and writes a few sentences at the end of his letter with his own hand, and gives his personal testimony to the fact that no law is necessary. He has found that Christ suffices for the living of a holy life, for through his death, Paul says,

"The world hath been crucified unto me, and I unto the world."

Having died to sin and become a "new creature" no "rule" is necessary for him except the impulse of the new life which causes him to fulfil "the law of Christ,"[35] that is, live the Christlike life.

How Paul sent this letter to the Galatians neither he nor Luke tells us. Timothy would be the most natural one to imagine as the messenger, since his home was among the Galatians. Paul's life must have been a busy one in those days, for not only was he writing letters to his far-away churches, but he was carrying on an active campaign in Corinth, and being opposed at every turn by the Jews. He had to endure a special hardship when Gallio,[36] a new pro-consul, came to Achæa, for the

[34] Gal. v. 13-26.

[35] Gal. vi. 1-18.

[36] The date of Gallio's arrival at Corinth has been practically settled by the find at Delphi of an inscription of the Emperor Claudius, which speaks of "Gallio, my friend, pro-consul of Achæa." The monument dates from 51 A.D., and as pro-consuls of Achæa served only one year, this must be the year of Gallio's

Jews, hoping that the new official would like to win their favour by granting their request to stop Paul's teaching, brought Paul before him. Gallio was the brother of the great Stoic philosopher, Seneca. Gallio shows that he is a Roman ruler of high character by refusing to use any party strife to win friends. He drives the Jews from the judgment seat and does not interfere when the mob beats Sosthenes,[37] the Jewish ruler of the synagogue. To be sure, he also throws away this chance of getting acquainted with Paul, who would probably have interested him. He "cared for none of these things" because he was disgusted with what seemed mere theological quarrelling.

No doubt this incident gave Paul still more liberty to push his ministry forward in Corinth because he now knew that he could not be arrested by any Jewish accusations. Probably in the house of Titus Justus he continued his work and the very Sosthenes who had appeared against him before Gallio seems to have become a Christian. At least, Paul and "Sosthenes, our brother," later write a letter to the Corinthians. This later letter to the Corinthians shows that Paul accomplished much more in Corinth than Luke reports. It shows that a flourishing community of Christians grew up there; it shows that Paul and his friends had been able to win a brotherhood group in the great wicked city of Corinth. Surely, it must have seemed the most hopeless place to work. So full of licentiousness was Corinth that it had become a byword everywhere, and its worst faults were encouraged by its religion. Strabo says that "the temple of Venus at Corinth was so rich that it had more than

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entrance upon office at Corinth. This means that, according to Acts xviii. 11ff, Paul came to Corinth in 49 or 50 A.D. and was brought up before Gallio in 51, and left Corinth in the later part of that year or early in 52.

[37] In Acts xviii. 17, "they all laid hold." It is impossible to know certainly to whom the "they" refers, but probably it means the enemies of the Jews.

a thousand women, courtesans, consecrated to the service of the goddess." This temple of Venus was at the highest point of the Acrocorinthus, and various other temples were scattered about on the mountain top and all along the road leading up from the city. In the market-place were many temples and on a hill above it the great temple of Apollo of which several columns still stand.[38] The city was full of temples and of uncleanness! It certainly took some courage to tell people who were such worshippers of dumb idols,[39] people who had experienced a considerable catalogue of follies and sins,[40] that their bodies could become the temples of the Holy Spirit and members of Christ.[41] But that is just the kind of courage in which Paul excelled. He knew that people could be transformed—that human nature could be changed! He, therefore, watched for his chance to tell them about Jesus. For he knew also that such miracles were wrought only by "Christ, the power of God" working in those who are "being saved,"[42] indeed, that this "power of God" could be effective in lives only if "Christ crucified"[43] were known.

[38] Pausanias II., 2. "In the forum, therefore (for in this place there are many temples), there are two wooden statues . . . which are gilt in every part except the face; for this in each is adorned with vermilion." Recent excavations in Corinth have uncovered the foundations of the temple of Apollo dating from 600 B.C. One can see, also, foundations of smaller temples of various dates in and near the market-place. In the centre of the city is the splendid fountain, Peirene, with its six channels cut far back into the rock. Evidently great care was taken to keep the city well supplied with water. Of special interest in connection with Paul are the streets with remnants of lines of shops. Where was Paul's tent-making shop one wonders. Hardly on these fine main streets perhaps, but possibly a shop not unlike these in size and shape.

[39] 1 Cor. xii. 1.

[40] 1 Cor. xvi. 9-11.

[41] 1 Cor. iii. 16, and vi. 15, and vi. 16.

[42] 1 Cor. i. 18, 24.

[43] 1 Cor. i. 18, 23.

"For I determined," he says when reviewing his work in Corinth, "not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified."[44]

Paul knew that it would be necessary for these Corinthians to "crucify the flesh with its passion and lusts"[45] if they were to become "a temple of the living God."[46] The temples in which they had been worshipping had degraded them because they had taught them the way of indulgence. No one could now help them to a higher life except by teaching them the way of sacrifice. They must be willing to sacrifice the low and degrading for the high and pure. Paul, therefore, held before them Jesus, as the supreme example of sacrifice, telling them that:

"One died for all, therefore all died; and he died for all that they which live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again."[47]

As these words show, Paul preached in Corinth not only Christ crucified, but also Christ risen, but the two are only different sides of the same fact—Christ victorious through suffering. He says that he preached unto them the story of Jesus' death, resurrection and appearance to others and to himself.[48] And this story "saved"[49] the Corinthians. Why? Because it was not merely a story outside themselves but it took them "into the fellowship" of Jesus Christ.[50] It awakened powers within them that made them victorious too; they, therefore, felt that Jesus not only had lived but still lived; that he was the "power of God" remaking their lives from within; that he was, indeed, the Son of God as Paul and Silas and Timothy

[44] 1 Cor. ii. 2.
[45] Gal. v. 24.
[46] 2 Cor. vi. 16.
[47] 2 Cor. v. 14, 15.
[48] 1 Cor. xv. 1-11.
[49] 1 Cor. xv. 2.
[50] 1 Cor. i. 9.

preached,[51] for had he not manifested the " power of God " both in his own life and in theirs? By this inner power that proceeded from the life of Christ each one became " a new creature " in Christ.[52] They became entirely changed; they received the " spirit which is of God "[53]; they came to " have the mind of Christ."[54] This was the " mystery of God "[55] which Paul proclaimed—this life " in Christ "[56] which was a life continuously transformed by the power " of God," that is, the life of the Spirit.[57]

Now it was not to the " wise after the flesh," not to the " mighty " nor " noble " that Paul proclaimed these great things.[58] It was to the plain, commonplace people, most of whom probably earned their own living and were not considered great personages in Corinth. To be sure, he did not use philosophical terms nor oratory, but spoke simply and directly.[59] Nevertheless it was " God's wisdom in a mystery " that he spoke and he expected them to understand.[60] But the background of Greek thought which these Corinthians had, perhaps made it easy for them to understand Paul's " mystery." Every year people from Corinth went to Eleusis to join in the Eleusinian mystery ceremonies.[61] They went in pro-

[51] 2 Cor. i. 19.
[52] 2 Cor. v. 17.
[53] 1 Cor. ii. 12.
[54] 1 Cor. ii. 16.
[55] 1 Cor. ii. 1, 7, and iv. 1.
[56] 1 Cor. i. 30.
[57] 2 Cor. iii. 17.
[58] 1 Cor. i. 26.
[59] 1 Cor. ii. 1, 4, 5.
[60] 1 Cor. ii. 6-8.
[61] The old story was that Persephone, while gathering flowers, was carried off by Pluto, the god of the lower world. Her mother, Demeter, went sorrowfully about seeking for her daughter, and vegetation ceased, since Demeter was the " earth-mother." Finally, she came to Eleusis, and there learned where her daughter was, and was then able to persuade Zeus to release her from the underworld for two-thirds of the year during which time vegetation would flourish. Then Demeter taught the

cession, recalling the carrying away of Persephone and the wanderings of Demeter searching for her lost daughter, and they rejoiced with her when she succeeded in recovering her daughter for part of the year. By thus sharing the grief and joy of the goddess they believed they gained her help for the present and future. The Corinthians, then, who knew of this and other mystery religions could easily understand Paul's language when he spoke of the "mystery of God" and of being brought "into the fellowship" of Christ by dying and living with him.[62] But the other mystery religions did little to make the lives of their votaries morally better, whereas the mystery of the life "in Christ" which Paul preached transformed the Corinthians, soul and body, and brought them into harmony with the Spirit of God manifested in the holy life of Jesus, not merely during times of worship but amid everyday activities.

The new community that grew out of this power of God manifest in Christ was bound together by common experiences. Like the other mystery religions[63] they had baptism for a rite of initiation. Paul never laid

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Eleusinians agriculture and her mysteries. Exactly what took place in the annual celebration of these mysteries is not yet known, but "the mystæ appear to have endeavoured to live over the pains of Demeter. They imitated her sad wanderings after her daughter had been forcibly carried away by the god of the unseen world. They shared her delight when that daughter was yielded up by her ravisher." See Percy Gardner's "The Religious Experience of St. Paul," p. 90, and all of ch. IV. for further study of the subject. There were also "mysteries" in Mithra worship and other religions then prevalent in the Roman Empire. See also Lake's "Early Epistles."

[62] 2 Cor. iv. 10, 11.

[63] Not that Christian baptism originated in the mystery religions. It probably was taken over from John the Baptist, but in Gentile countries would be influenced by the parallels of the mystery religions. The early Christian writer, Tertullian, in his "Of Baptism," V., gives evidence that other religions used baptism, for he says that those who enter certain religions "are admitted by washing, to certain sacred rites, of a certain Isis or Mythra. . . . Certainly, they are baptized at the games of Apollo, and those at Eleusis, and this they suppose

much emphasis on this ceremony[64] but he saw in it a helpful symbol of the dying to sin and living in Christ. The going down into the water he called "being baptized into his death," being "buried" "with him," being "united with him by the likeness of his death" in order that "the body of sin might be done away." The coming up out of the water suggested to his mind the coming up into unity with Christ "by the likeness of his resurrection" so that one might "live with him" and thus "walk in newness of life" being "alive unto God in Christ Jesus."[65]

Like many other religious communities of the time the new Christian brotherhood of Corinth had also a sacred feast.[66] It seems to have been a common meal in which the most sacred part was the breaking of bread and the drinking of a cup in remembrance of the supper that Jesus ate with his disciples on the night in which he was betrayed.[67] They thought of this as a

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they do unto regeneration." See ch. V. of P. Gardner's "Religious Experience of St. Paul," for further evidence. That proselytes were baptized when they embraced Judaism, see Schürer, "History of the Jews," Vol. 2, p. 291ff.

[64] See ch. XV., p. 152.

[65] Rom. vi. 2-11. This mystical teaching is not so fully expressed anywhere in Corinthians, but is implied by Paul's teaching there. See 2 Cor. iv. 10, etc.

[66] The Christian writer, Justyn Martyr, in his "Apology," i. 66, speaking of the Lord's Supper, says that there is "The same thing in the mysteries of Mythra also, . . . for bread and a cup of water are placed in the mystic rites for one who is to be initiated, with the addition of certain words." The inscriptions and carvings remaining from Mythraism also show that they kept a feast in memory of the supper of Mythra with the sun-god. See "Mysteries of Mythra," F. Cumont, p. 138 and 158. That Mythraism spread even into such isolated outposts of the Roman Empire as Britain, is shown by the fact that a Mythra monument was found in the old Roman wall of London. It is now in the possession of Wm. Ransom, of Hitchin. Other religions also had their sacred feasts. The Mystae of Eleusis took a mixed drink. See Percy Gardner, p. 120ff.

[67] 1 Cor. xi. 17-34. Whether Jesus did expect his disciples to keep this supper "in remembrance" of him is doubtful since

" communion of the blood " and " of the body of Christ." The broken bread especially was a symbol, too, of the unity of the community in Christ. As the bread is broken from one loaf, so the " many " who partake of the feast are " one bread, one body " in communion with Christ.[69]

The meeting for worship seems to have had little or no pre-arrangement but to have been held in the faith that, " To each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit."[69] These manifestations were not for the individual alone, but were for the edification of the brotherhood. When they came together, therefore, some contributed psalms, some teachings, some revelations, some tongues, some interpretations.[70] There was entire liberty for anyone to speak in

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the " words of institution " which Paul uses here (verses 24, 25) are not found in the oldest Gospel—Mark—and in Luke they are a late addition, since Westcott and Hort found that certain ancient MSS. do not contain them. It is difficult to know exactly what Paul means by saying, " I received of the Lord " (verse 23). But, however it originated, Paul's churches kept a supper that proclaimed " the Lord's death, till he come." See P. Gardner's " The Religious Experience of St. Paul," p. 110ff. for an interesting study of the problem. Also Lake's " Early Epistles," p. 210ff.

[68] 1 Cor. x. 14-17. In the " Teaching of the Twelve " Apostles, the earliest church liturgy known, sect. 9, a kindred idea is found and there is no reference to the death of Jesus. Some of the words spoken during the breaking of bread were, " As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains and gathered together became one, so thou hast gathered thy Church from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom."

[69] 1 Cor. xii. 7.

[70] 1 Cor. xiv. 26. The "*psalm*" must have been the chanting of praise or prayer. A well-known psalm may have been used, but the spontaneous character of the whole meeting and the ease with which an Easterner expresses himself in poetic style make it more likely that it was spontaneously improvised. The "*teaching*" was perhaps an explanation of an Old Testament passage or a Saying of Jesus. The "*revelation*" was probably the communication of the messages of the prophets, that is, the preachers. For further discussion of the meaning of these terms see ch. XVI., pp. 180, 181.

the meeting who had a gift that was helpful to others. They expected harmony in the meeting because they were all being led by "the same Spirit."[71] It would seem that there was absolute democracy, too, in the management of the brotherhood. "In these first days every member of the church held office."[72] There were apostles,[73] that is, travelling ministers; prophets, those who gave a direct message from the Lord; teachers, probably those who explained the Scripture, etc., etc.[74] They did not all attempt to do the same things; each did what he felt impelled to do, and therefore could probably do best.

The brotherhood that grew out of the preaching of the Gospel in Corinth was, then, one in which there was almost complete liberty for the development of the individual, safeguarded only by the fact of belonging to a wide-awake community. It was also one in which there was incentive to attain the highest standard of spiritual life, for Paul called them not only brothers but "saints."[75]

[71] 1 Cor. xii. 4-11.

[72] R. H. Horton, "The Early Church," The Century Bible Handbook, p. 41.

[73] That the term "apostle" was applied to many beside the twelve was shown by the fact that James and Barnabas were called apostles (Gal. i. 19; Acts xiii. 1). There is much evidence, too, in the writings of the early Fathers, that "apostle" was used for all travelling prophets.

[74] 1 Cor. xii. 28-31. It is difficult to know exactly what some of the other members of the church did. Gifts of "governments" were probably those who had ability for managing the business side of affairs. Were "helps" perhaps, those who considered themselves a committee to help anyone in need? Those who had the gift of healing, no doubt, looked after the sick. What were the miracles?

[75] 1 Cor. i. 2.

CHAPTER XVI

PAUL'S "DAILY ANXIETY" FOR CORINTH WHILE FACING DANGER IN EPHESUS.

"AND in the way which leads from the isthmus of Cenchreae there is a temple of Diana, and an ancient image of wood." Along this way Paul and Priscilla and Aquila[1] went from Corinth to Cenchreae where their friend Phœbe lived who was a "servant of the church at Cenchreae."[2] She seems to have made her house a home for travelling Christians, for Paul says:

"She herself hath been a succourer of many, and of mine own self."[3]

Probably Paul and his friends spent a short time here when leaving Corinth since he takes time to fulfil some kind of a vow.[4] Then, probably setting sail across the Saronic Gulf, passing Athens they launched forth among the Greek Islands of the Aegean and going up the Cayster river "they came to Ephesus" which Paul had passed by when in Asia before. Here Aquila and Priscilla take a house and set up their tent-making business. They all receive a welcome at the Jewish synagogue, but Paul has his heart set on a visit to his old friends in Cæsarea and Antioch, and the churches

[1] Acts xviii. 18.

[2] Romans xvi. 1. Was this church an outgrowth of the Corinth work?

[3] Romans xvi. 2.

[4] Acts xviii. 18. It was customary to let the hair grow when a vow was taken and cut it off when it was fulfilled (Acts xxi. 24, 26; Numb. vi. 5). It is useless to try to explain why Paul did this, since we do not know what the vow was or what led to it.

of Galatia[5] to whom he has recently written strong warnings against adopting the Jewish Law. While he was gone there appeared in Ephesus an educated Alexandrian named Apollos. "Priscilla and Aquila" heard him set forth eloquently in the synagogue the things concerning the Messiah[6] ending with an account of the preaching of John the Baptist. Strange to say, he seems not to have heard that Jesus the Messiah had come. But "Priscilla and Aquila" invited him to their home, and explained this to him and he soon became an enthusiastic supporter of Jesus the Messiah against the unbelieving Jews. Apollos went over to Corinth,[7] and shortly after Paul travelling over land from Galatia, returned to Ephesus. He there dealt with twelve John the Baptist disciples[8] as Aquila and Priscilla had dealt with Apollos[9]. He preached in the synagogue, and worked with Aquila, and once more the tent-making workshop and the home became centres for the spread of truth. And this even though business was not very profitable, for Paul describes his situation in Ephesus thus:

"Even unto this present hour we both hunger and thirst and are naked and are buffeted and have no certain dwelling-place; and we toil with our own hands."[10]

[5] Acts xviii. 19-23. It is not quite clear what church Paul "went up" and saluted, but it can hardly have been Jerusalem, since his visit there a little later seems to be the first since the conference. See especially Acts xxi. 19. Probably Paul arranges on this visit to Galatia for a collection to be made for Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 1).

[6] Acts xviii. 25. All our texts read "the things concerning Jesus," and this has been made the basis of an extravagant theory that there was a Jesus-cult before the time of Jesus. (See W. B. Smith, Drews, etc.) The phrase certainly makes no sense as it stands. It seems most likely that Luke has written "Jesus" when he meant "Messiah," because the two were one in his mind. See Lake's "Earlier Epistles," p. 107-111.

[7] Acts xviii. 24-28.

[8] This gives evidence that the John the Baptist movement was much stronger than might be supposed from the Gospels.

[9] Acts xix. 1-8.

[10] 1 Cor. iv. 11, 12.

In coming to Ephesus, Paul again enters a city of wealth and importance, a city full of temples and schools and lecture halls. Again the Christian tent-maker dares to hope that he can bring a higher life to many surrounded with culture.[10a]

But in the midst of his Ephesian work he did not forget Corinth, for Paul "daily" had "anxiety for all the churches" after he left them, especially if any dangers beset them. First, he wrote a letter warning the Corinthians against making any compromise with immorality, for that he knew to be their greatest danger. This letter is lost, but Paul refers to it thus:

"I wrote unto you in my epistle to have no company with fornicators."[11]

It is quite possible, too, that we have a fragment of this letter in the passage beginning "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship have righteousness and iniquity? What agreement hath a temple of God with idols? For we are a temple of the living God," and ending, "Beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all defilement of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God."[12]

[10a] The ruins at Ephesus show that a splendidly laid-out city flourished there. Although the beautifully decorated library recently excavated, and many of the fine marble street decorations are from the period just after Paul, the city of his day cannot have been far different in its main features. From the great theatre on the hill-side a broad colonnaded street runs straight out to the harbour. Parts of the harbour buildings still remain, also ruins of a large gymnasium, a stadium and many small temples. The ancient agora is only a heap of stones. A fine street wound out around the hills to the temple of Diana. The Austrians have done most of the excavating and their finds are in Vienna.

[11] 1 Cor. v. 9.

[12] 2 Cor. vi. 14-vii. 1. That this passage is a part of Paul's earlier letter is made probable not only by the fitness of the contents to the reference in 1 Cor. v. 9, but also by the fact that these verses break the connection where they stand. "Be ye also enlarged" (vi. 13), joins perfectly with "Open your hearts to us" (vii. 2).

Thus Paul attempted to keep alive in Corinth the ideal for which he was working also in Ephesus. When he found that the synagogue did not help his purposes and the house of Aquila was perhaps too small, he "separated the disciples," and arranged to give public teaching in the "School of Tyrannus." Here Paul must have seemed to the citizens of Ephesus like a lecturing philosopher.[13] They would go in to see what sort of wisdom he had to give. Exactly what Paul taught in Ephesus we have no means of knowing, because "Ephesians" contains no reference to his work in Ephesus. We have only a brief note of introduction written for Phœbe of Cenchreae to the Ephesians in which he warns them against divisions and "occasions of stumbling, contrary to the doctrine which ye learned."[14] It is probable that his teaching in Ephesus was much like that in Corinth since it was much the same type of city. Instead of Venus, Ephesus worshipped Diana, who was "an embodiment of the fertility and productive power of the earth." Although situated a

[13] One MS. adds that Paul lectured from the fifth to the tenth hour.

[14] Romans xvi. 17. That Romans xvi. 1-23 was a separate note written to introduce Phœbe to the Ephesians is a theory that is not proven, but is made probable by the following considerations:

(1) It is improbable that Paul knew so many people in Rome as Paul greets in ch. xvi., and the rest of Romans seems to be written to strangers, and has an ending at ch. xv.

(2) It does not seem natural for Paul to warn the Romans against departing from the teaching unless he had given that teaching himself.

(3) The people mentioned are more likely to be Ephesians than Romans, especially Epænetus, the "first fruits of Asia," and Aquila and Priscilla who were in Ephesus with Paul though they had come from Rome earlier. For further details see Moffatt's "N.T. Intro.," p. 135ff. For the view that Romans xvi. was written to Rome, see Sanday and Headlam's Com. The chief point there made is that Paul's disciples *may* have travelled to Rome and Aquila and Priscilla *may* have travelled again to Rome, and that some of the names have been found in Roman inscriptions and may now be seen in ancient Roman tombs.

mile from the city, the great temple of Diana[15] was the centre of Ephesian life and rich gifts were brought to the goddess by pilgrims from many cities.

That Paul's work in Ephesus brought him into great danger is shown by the following words:

"If after the manner of men I fought with beasts[16] at Ephesus, what doth it profit me? If the dead are not raised, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

Does he mean that he was actually thrown to the beasts in the Ephesus stadium, or is he referring to inhuman treatment of his enemies? At any rate, he there maintains his conception of life against terrible odds. He is convinced that the dead still live, for Jesus still lives, and this means that true life is much more than the life of the body . . . that though the "outward man" is destroyed. the "inward man is renewed day by day."[17] He is therefore willing to fight with beasts if by so doing he is able to preserve this Gospel of the eternal power of the inner life and destroy the utter heathenism which sees nothing in life but the body whose motto is, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."[18]

In Ephesus, then, Paul either fought with beasts or with beasts of men in defence of the greatness of life. Aquila and Priscilla, too, had their share of persecution perhaps at this time,[19] for in

[15] Diana is the Latin name given to the ancient goddess of the land. The Greeks called her Artemis. Some of the ancient coins have pictures of her. The temple of Diana was long searched for and finally found by J. T. Wood in 1869. Since then the site has been still more thoroughly excavated and parts of still older temples have been found. The finest fragments of the temples are in the "Ephesus Room" at the British Museum. Nos. 1200-1233 are parts of the temple of Paul's day. A temple of Diana is now being uncovered in Sardis.

[16] 1 Cor. xv. 32. On the probability that Paul fought in the arena, see McGiffert's "Apostolic Age," p. 280ff.

[17] 2 Cor. iv. 16.

[18] A motto like this was on an ancient monument near Tarsus. See ch. VII., p. 73.

[19] It is impossible to be sure whether it was here or in the persecutions that later drove Paul out of Ephesus that these friends suffered for him.

his note of introduction to the Ephesians, Paul says,

"Salute Prisca and Aquila, my fellow-workers in Jesus Christ, who for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks but all the churches of the Gentiles."[20]

Two other people who suffered with Paul are mentioned in the following:

"Salute Andronicus and Junias, my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the apostles."[21]

When and how did Priscilla and Aquila risk their lives for Paul? Why were Andronicus and Junias in prison with him? There is no definite answer to these questions. Our records are fragmentary at this point, but they are certain, for Paul could not be mistaken either about these sufferings of his friends for him or about his own fighting with beasts. Thus the heroism of Paul and his friends shines through even the holes in our records.

But again in the midst of strenuous work in one city Paul has to deal with serious danger in the church of another city. News reaches him from Corinth which causes him to write a second letter in which he says:

"It is actually reported that there is fornication among you . . . and ye are puffed up and did not rather mourn."[22]

His previous letter[23] had been misunderstood, and he had been supposed to council no association whatever with the wicked. In the letter which Paul next writes[23a] he corrects this misunderstanding and admits that then one must "needs go out of the world." But he does maintain that the community of brethren must be kept pure.[24] He reminds them that wickedness

[20] Rom. xvi. 3, 4.

[21] Rom. xvi. 7.

[22] 1 Cor. v. 1.

[23] Lake's suggestion that this early letter (see p. 168) be called "the previous letter" seems a good one.

[23a] 1 Cor. is Paul's next letter, though he sends Timothy on a mission to Corinth first. See p. 175.

[24] 1 Cor. v. 10, 11.

spreads through a community like leaven and that since Christ " our passover hath been sacrificed " we ought to have no leaven at all in our communities, but eat only the " unleaven bread of sincerity and truth."[25]

He advised them to gather the community together to decide what to do with the one who had brought uncleanliness into the Christian brotherhood. He tells them to remember that though he is " absent in body " he will be " present in spirit " " with the power of our Lord Jesus," and that his decision will be " to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved."[26] Paul felt that it was mistaken kindness to keep a wrong-doer in the community; even though casting him out meant putting him where he would have worse influences, where, indeed, he would seem to be given over entirely to the power of Satan. Nevertheless that would be the only hope of saving him. It was necessary for the offender to learn definitely that he could not be named a "brother" and be an evil-doer. So long as he persisted in defending his sin the brethren of the community ought not so much as to eat with him.[27] This drastic action was with the hope of saving the spirit of the sinner, and of keeping the community undefiled. This shows that the fundamental basis on which Paul was establishing these early Christian communities was a high type of life.

Another point in which Paul hears that they are falling below the standard is in the fact that " brother goeth to law with brother."[28] This, he says, is " utterly

[25] 1 Cor. v. 6-8. Paul is evidently speaking figuratively here. Leaven equals wickedness. Just as all leaven had to be put out of the houses for the Passover feast (Ex. xii. 19), so in the new era introduced by Christ there should be no wickedness.

[26] 1 Cor. v. 3-5.

[27] 1 Cor. v. 11-13.

[28] 1 Cor. vi. 1-11. The introduction of this subject in connection with the case of fornication makes one wonder whether any law-suit had arisen out of that. In verse 12 Paul returns again to the subject of fornication.

a fault." They ought to be able to " judge things pertaining to this life " or it would even be better to " take wrong " and be " defrauded " than to quarrel and make their quarrels public. They who have been " washed " and " sanctified " and " justified " in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ ought to be living up to such a high standard that they would not count everything " expedient " that is " lawful." They should know that even " the body is . . . for the Lord," and therefore holy, indeed, " a temple of the Holy Spirit." They ought to remember that this purified standard of life has been purchased at a great price, and should, therefore, be carefully maintained.[29]

Probably the report which called forth these words of Paul's was brought by those[30] " of the household of Chloe," at least they are the ones who bring the information which Paul deals with in the first part of his letter, namely, that the Corinthian church is being split into various parties.[31] Apollos had been working in Corinth for some time after he left Ephesus, and Paul approved of his work, for he said that Apollos watered the seed that he himself had planted.[32] Apollos, then, had not intentionally gathered a party of personal followers, but, nevertheless, an Apollos party had arisen.[33] The fact that Paul emphasizes that his own preaching was " not in wisdom of words "[34] makes it probable that some people had declared themselves disciples of Apollos because he spoke in the philosophical language of the

[29] 1 Cor. vi. 12-20.

[30] Of course " those of Chloe " may have reported only the divisions, and later someone else may have reported the case of fornication, but it is just as probable that they reported both.

[31] 1 Cor. i. 10, 11. There is no other mention of Chloe, but the reference here indicates that servants of hers came to Ephesus and reported about Corinth. Probably she was a wealthy woman of Corinth.

[32] 1 Cor. iii. 6.

[33] 1 Cor. i. 12. See ch. XVI., p. 183, for further evidence that Paul had no blame for Apollos.

[34] 1 Cor. i. 17, and ii. 1.

great university at Alexandria, where he probably had studied.

But there was also a Cephas party. How did that arise? Did Peter visit Corinth as he had visited Antioch? It is quite possible that he did[35] but there is no evidence that he advocated the Law as he did in Antioch. The difficulty, at any rate, seems to have been that some people decided to take Peter as their leader rather than Paul.[36] Then, there was also a party loyal to Paul. But Paul never wanted anyone to belong to a Paul party; he wanted them to belong to God and Christ.[37] He did, indeed, want the love of his "beloved children," for though they should have "ten thousand tutors in Christ," yet would they never have another "father."[38] Nevertheless, he asks no one to honour him except as a minister of Christ and steward of the "mysteries of God."[39]

"What, then, is Apollos?" he cries, "and what is Paul? Ministers through whom ye have believed. I planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase; we are God's fellow-workers."[40]

[35] We know almost nothing about Peter after his return to Jerusalem from Antioch, but there are traditions that he went to Rome and Dionysius, bishop of Corinth in the second century, said that Peter visited Corinth, but he may have had no other evidence than this passage in 1 Corinthians. His words are quoted by Eusebius in his church history, II., xxv. 8.

[36] Of course they may have done this without Peter's having been in Corinth.

[37] 1 Cor. iii. 9, 11, 23. In 1 Cor. i. 12 we have the words "And I am of Christ," just as though there were also a Christ-party in Corinth, but as there is no other reference to it in 1 Cor., and as Paul tells them all that they are Christ's, there can hardly have been a Christ-party there of which he did not approve. It is possible that the text should be punctuated as follows: "and I of Cephas,—but I am of Christ!" In which case it would be Paul declaring that he belonged to Christ. See also p. 185 and for further discussion see Lake—"Early Epistles," p. 127ff.

[38] 1 Cor. iv. 14, 15.

[39] 1 Cor. iv. 1.

[40] 1 Cor. iii. 5-9.

"Wherefore let no one glory in men. For all things are yours; whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's."[41]

Chloe's report makes Paul feel that he must send some help to Corinth; and, preferring a personal messenger to a written letter, he sends "Timothy, who," he says in the letter written soon after, "is my beloved and faithful child in the Lord, who shall put you in remembrance of my ways which be in Christ."[42]

Apparently not long after Timothy had been sent off, Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus arrived from Corinth[43] bringing a letter from the Corinthian church.[44] This letter from the Corinthians to Paul is lost, but part of it can be recovered by noting that Paul is evidently answering points raised by them in passages such as those beginning, "Now concerning." They asked him:

Concerning marriage and divorce (1 Cor. vii. 1-24).

Concerning virgins (1 Cor. vii. 25-38).

Concerning things sacrificed to idols (1 Cor. viii. 1 to xi. 1).

Concerning spiritual gifts (1 Cor. xii. 1 to xiv. 40).

Concerning the collection (1 Cor. xvi. 1-11).

Concerning Apollos (1 Cor. xvi. 12).

They may also have asked about the other subjects with which Paul here deals, which are:

Women in worship (xi. 2-11, 16; xiv. 34-36).

The Lord's Supper (xi. 17-34).

The resurrection (xv. 1-58).

People who adopt new ideals often attempt to practise

[41] 1 Cor. iii. 21-23.

[42] 1 Cor. iv. 17. Probably it is this visit that Luke refers to in Acts xix. 22, although he does not say that Timothy went on through Macedonia to Corinth. But Luke tells nothing of these Corinthian difficulties.

[43] 1 Cor. xvi. 17.

[44] 1 Cor. vii. 1. There is no definite statement that they brought the letter.

them in extreme and unnatural forms. When the Corinthians adopted Paul's ideal of absolute purity they went to the extreme of thinking marriage impure. Some thought that husbands and wives ought to separate, and that virgins certainly ought not to degrade themselves by marrying. Paul expresses his disapproval of divorce by quoting words from Jesus against it,[45] but on the other hand, his advice concerning marriage does not reflect the high ideal which Jesus held, expressed by his words beginning, "What God hath joined together." Paul definitely says that the unmarried state is the higher,[46] though he claims the right to "lead about a wife" if he wishes,[47] and advises the Corinthians to remain in whatever state they find themselves whether married or unmarried. No doubt Paul's views are considerably influenced by his belief that there will be only a short time before the new era will dawn in which marriage will not exist.[48] But note that he stands for greater liberty of action than do the Corinthians.

The liberty of those who "walk in the spirit" to act according to their own conscience was maintained by Paul in his reply to the question about eating meat offered to idols.[49] Of course, since idols are nothing, eating meat dedicated to them can do no harm to the individual. But Paul brings forward another principle—suppose this "liberty of yours becomes a stumbling-block" to a less enlightened brother. In such case "I will eat no flesh for evermore," says Paul and gives several examples of liberty which he had refused to use for the sake of others. As an apostle was he not free to eat and drink what he thought best?[50]

[45] 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11; Mark x. 9-12.
[46] 1 Cor. vii., especially 5, 8, 9.
[47] 1 Cor. ix. 4. Whether Paul had ever been married it is difficult to determine. In Ephesians marriage is used as a figure of the relation of Christ and the Church. This shows a high idea of marriage. See ch. XIX., p. 235.
[48] 1 Cor. vii. 29; compare Mark xii. 25.
[49] 1 Cor. viii.
[50] 1 Cor. ix.

Certainly he was free to demand support while he was preaching, for even the Old Testament said that the ox should not be muzzled while threshing and Jesus said that preachers of the Gospel should "live by the Gospel."[51] Nevertheless Paul chose not to use this liberty of his lest it should be a stumbling-block to some. He preferred to "make the Gospel without charge" that he might "gain the more," indeed, he did "all things for the Gospel's sake." Ought not this to be the principle on which the Corinthians should decide the question of eating meats? The Gospel is the goal. Even as the athletes in the Corinthian games make all circumstances bend toward the winning of the goal, so the Corinthian Christians ought to make all lesser matters contribute to the winning of the Gospel for themselves and others. And no one is safe unless he keeps in training all the time.[52] Even some of the "fathers" who had the same "spiritual meat" and "spiritual drink" fell.

"Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

"Flee from idolatry." Those who have communion with Christ in the "cup of blessing," and the breaking of bread at the "table of the Lord" cannot "have communion with devils" by sitting at the "table of devils."[53] And even if one does not partake of the idol feasts as a worshipper,[54] but knows that the food has

[51] This seems to be Paul's free statement of the words found in Matt. x. 10 and Luke x. 7, which were probably in the book of Sayings embedded in the Gospels of both Matthew and Luke.

[52] 1 Cor. ix. 1-x. 13.

[53] 1 Cor. x. 13-xi. 1. The idea that partaking of food consecrated to a god was having communion with the god was widespread. One of the papyri recently found in Egypt speaks of "the table of the Lord Serapis." See Deissman, "Light from the East," p. 355.

[54] Probably Paul means that if one goes to an idol feast as a worshipper he has communion with devils because he believes the idols to be something. But the words as they stand sound as though Paul thought idols were devils, though he has said in viii. 4 that an idol is nothing.

been sacrificed to idols it is better not to eat because it may offend some one else. The great principle is:

"Let no man seek his own, but each his neighbour's good." [55]

One side of the problem that Paul does not consider here but which he nevertheless gives some light upon is, which of two courses before me will be for the good of the greater number of my neighbours? If some are offended because I eat and others because I am so narrow-minded as not to eat, how shall I steer my course between these two possible offences? For all such difficult questions Paul does lay down a comprehensive principle, though he does not point out its full application. In seeking your "neighbour's good" keep as your standard the "glory of God," that is, the ideal purpose of God which is being worked out in His kingdom. In doubtful cases act in the way that seems most clearly in accordance with the ideal principles of the Gospel, and it will result in the "profit of the many," for the "glory of God" must be in accordance with my "neighbour's good."

"Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." [56]

Did Paul act according to this principle in giving advice concerning women in worship? He certainly believed that the liberty of the Gospel extended to women, for he said:

"There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." [57]

Yet when a difficult situation arises in Corinth he writes:

"I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of every woman is the

[55] 1 Cor. x. 24.

[56] 1 Cor. x. 31.

[57] Gal. iii. 28; compare Col. iii. 10, 11.

man."[58] "Let the women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak . . let them be in subjection, as also saith the Law."[59]

But why should Paul apply the Law to women if he preached the Gospel to them? Certainly he had found many of them responsive and helpful in his work, though some are now troublesome in Corinth. Apparently he considered it allowable for women to speak in the churches if their heads were veiled, and apparently they did prophesy and pray.[60] But Paul's words, as they stand, are contradictory and it is therefore impossible to know exactly what his attitude toward women's ministry was, though the later Church has chose to take the legalistic Jewish utterances as the true expression of Paul and even as authoritative. The fact is that Paul was not ready, and the world was yet unprepared for the great social changes which would naturally flow from his Gospel. He expected the woman and the slave to keep their subordinate positions, but to live above them in their spirits, and this was all that it was possible to attain in his age.[61] No doubt his failure to look for social changes was due to his expectation that the Kingdom would soon appear and inaugurate an era when all things would be in accordance with the Gospel.

[58] 1 Cor. xi. 3.

[59] 1 Cor. xiv. 34. The Greek word for "speak" here cannot be shown to mean merely that the women are not permitted to "babble," that is, to whisper or speak in an undignified manner. The same word for "speak" is used, for instance, in xiv. 29, referring to the prophets.

[60] Of course, all respectable eastern women were veiled when they appeared in public, though the Greek women of Corinth would have hardly covered their faces. They probably wore veils over their heads. That Paul had always seen women veiled is shown by the fact that Dion Chrysostom, a half-century later, found the women of Tarsus still veiled. He speaks of it in his "Tarsus Oration." See Ramsay—"Cities of St. Paul,"—Tarsus.

[61] 1 Cor. vii. 17-24. What a remarkable historical development it is that Paul's words to the Corinthians should for twenty centuries keep women's heads covered in church!

The fundamental principle of putting first one's "neighbour's good" which, as we have seen, Paul reiterates in this letter, had, unhappily, been disregarded on the occasion of the partaking of the Lord's Supper. The fellowship with one another and with Christ which they ought to have enjoyed was entirely destroyed by the selfish and rude way in which some ate before others, and left no food for those who came late. Paul pointed out that it was a serious thing to thus "eat the bread" and "drink the cup of the Lord unworthily."

In the meeting for worship also the relationship of the individuals taking part became a problem. There was a tendency to consider some of the "gifts" more important than others and even to say that some of the smaller services were not needed at all. But Paul asks them to remember that they are all "one body."[62] No one, then, should undervalue his own small gift for,

"If the foot shall say, Because I am not the head I am not of the body; it is not, therefore, not of the body." Nor should the more gifted depreciate their lesser brethren, for,

"The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee. . . Nay, rather, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary."

Indeed, it was one of the "gifts" that was considered most "honourable" that was causing most trouble in Corinth. The people who spoke with "tongues" spoke a senseless jargon that no one could understand.[63]

"But now, brethren," writes Paul, "if I come unto you speaking with tongues, what shall I profit you,

[62] 1 Cor. xii. 12-27.

[63] 1 Cor. xiv. 1-33. That some people thought they could understand the "tongues" is shown by the mention of interpreters. The mention of tongues of angels (xiii. 1), reflects the popular idea that one could come under the influence of supernatural beings and speak their language. Here again Paul shares a mistaken idea of his time in his belief in tongues,

unless I speak to you by way of revelation, or of knowledge, or of prophesying, or of teaching." "I would rather speak five words with my understanding, that I might instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue."[64]

Edification then, actual building up of others, should be the aim of every contribution when all "come together." Words and phrases used which are not understood by the rest of the worshippers have no place at all in such a meeting. The unlearned ought, at least, to be able to understand enough to say "Amen," and a stranger coming in ought to feel that he is in the presence of God where the very "secrets of his heart are made manifest." But this could be, only if all things were "done unto edifying" and "decently and in order." Therefore the psalms, teachings or revelations which various ones contributed should be offered in turn.

"If a revelation be made to another sitting by, let the first keep silence"; while some prophesy "let the others discern."[65]

But all these difficulties arising out of the failure to have the right regard for others could be settled for ever by love. Therefore love is the greatest gift, and it is to men and women who especially need this

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and here again his high and practical standard of judging things by their value for upbuilding kept the wrong belief from doing him harm. There are phenomena to-day somewhat like the ecstatic speaking in Corinth. Persons in this state are known to have spoken in languages that they did not know in their normal state—but generally, if not always, it is a language which they have heard at some time and their sub-consciousness has remembered. For further discussion see Lake's "Earlier Epistles," p. 241 ff.

[64] 2 Cor. xiv. 6, 19.

[65] It would seem that Paul thought that it would be possible for two or three to speak at once (xiv. 27, 29). But most westerners would think that one at a time is sufficient. It is interesting to note that Paul especially valued the gift of prophecy because of its power to give edification, comfort, consolation. 1 Cor. xiv. 1-3. See ch. XIV., pp. 164, 165.

teaching that Paul now pours out his great Hymn to Love, beginning,

"If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels,
But have not love,
I am become sounding brass
Or a clanging cymbal.
And if I have the gift of prophecy,
And know all mysteries and all knowledge;
And if I have all faith,
So as to remove mountains,
But have not love,
I am nothing.
And if I share out all my goods, morsel by morsel,
And if I give my body to be burned,
But have not love,
It profiteth me nothing."[66]

One doctrinal subject Paul thought it worth while to treat; the resurrection both of Christ and of others seemed to him fundamental, because the hope of immortality entirely changes the aspect of life in the present as well as for the future[67]. But note that it is not the resurrection of the body that he considers important,[68] but the supremacy of the life-giving spirit—of "that which is spiritual." Just as he believed in the reality and power of Faith, Hope and Love, so he believed in the immortality of the personalities expressing those qualities—in the person of Jesus, therefore, above all. Before such spiritual powers sin cannot stand[69] nor even death.[70] Such faith in the spirit is, indeed, fundamental to the Gospel of the Spirit. Lives lived in the power of the "life-giving spirit" are sure

[66] 1 Cor. xiii. The translation here given is Prof. Deissman's published in his "St. Paul," pp. 181-183. For the rest of his translation of the chapter, see p. 192 and p. 246.

[67] 1 Cor. xv. 12-32.

[68] 1 Cor. xv. 46, 50.

[69] 1 Cor. xv. 33, 34.

[70] 1 Cor. xv. 55.

of immortality and "victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."[71]

Paul now draws this long letter to a close by telling the Corinthians how to make a collection for him to take to Jerusalem; by asking them to receive Timothy, who, it seems, may not yet have reached Corinth,[72] and to send him in peace back to Ephesus; and by explaining that Apollos feels that he cannot return to Corinth[73] at present though he will come later. Paul also tells them that he will come to them "shortly" after he has finished his work in Ephesus, and has passed through Macedonia.[74] He will then attend to the case of those who are "puffed up" and will perhaps spend the winter in Corinth.[75]

With the hope that the Corinthians will yet prove themselves "strong" by facing their difficulties in the true spirit he again urges love as the one solving power:

"Let all that ye do be done in love."[76]

With his own hand he writes the final salutation assuring them of his love:

"My love be with you all in Christ Jesus."

[71] 1 Cor. xv. 57, 58. It is probable that Paul had in mind some special theory concerning the body. It could be changed in a moment (verse 51), it could take on a new nature in the same manner as a grain of wheat; it could become a spiritual body (verses 35-49). Exactly what is to become of the flesh and blood that cannot enter the kingdom (verse 50) he does not make clear, but he seems to think that it is to be transformed into spirit (verses 51-54). He is chiefly interested in man's *spirit*, evidently believing it to be the fundamental and eternal element of man.

[72] 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2 and 10, 11. See p. 175.

[73] 1 Cor. xvi. 12. This shows that Paul did not blame Apollos for the Apollos party in Corinth. See p. 173.

[74] 1 Cor. iv. 18-21; 1 Cor. xvi. 5-9.

[75] 1 Cor. xvi. 8.

[76] 1 Cor. xvi. 13, 14, 19-24. Perhaps Stephanas and his friends carried this letter (1 Cor.) back to the Corinthians. See p. 175.

CHAPTER XVII

LOVE RESTORES ORDER IN CORINTH WITHOUT LOSS OF LIBERTY

"I WILL tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost, for a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries." [1]

Thus Paul had written to the Corinthians hoping that they could solve their difficulties without him since the "adversaries" in Ephesus made him wish to stay and see that nothing closed the door opened to the Gospel there. But the situation in Corinth became so alarming that Paul seemed to have thought it best to make a brief visit there. It was probably a report which Timothy[2] brought on his return from Corinth that made Paul leave everything and hurry to Corinth. We have no detailed account of this visit of Paul's, but he refers to it thus:

"I determined this for myself, that I would not come again to you with sorrow." [3]

[1] 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9.

[2] At least Timothy is with Paul again when he writes later (2 Cor. i. 1). See p. 175 and 183 for the going of Timothy to Corinth.

[3] 2 Cor. ii. 1. There is also evidence of an unrecorded visit in 2 Cor. xii. 14 and 2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2, where Paul says that this is the "third time." Of course, with so little evidence, we cannot be sure just when the second visit was made, but it seems most natural after the many difficulties of which he speaks in 1 Cor. For the view, however, that this second visit was made before 1 Cor., see Robertson and Plummer's Com. on 1 Cor., pages xxi.-xxiv.

It had been necessary, then, for Paul to go to Corinth "with a rod" [4] as he had feared it might be. Nor did his rod prove successful, for he also wrote a sorrowful letter.

"Out of much affliction and anguish of heart," he says, "I wrote unto you with many tears; not that ye should be made sorry, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you." [5]

So severe was this letter that Paul almost regretted having written it. [6] Can we find this "severe letter" and from it learn about the crisis in Corinth? At least, we have some parts of a letter in which Paul is conscious that he is writing in a way that might "terrify" [7] and in which there is much evidence of enemies in Corinth. [8] In these chapters Paul becomes exceedingly sarcastic when dealing with the accusations of his opponents. They said he was courageous only when he was away from his enemies, [9] that his letters were "weighty and strong" but his "bodily presence" "weak" and "his speech of no account." [10] Paul replies that he scorns to compare himself "with certain of them that commend themselves" who are "without understanding" in their comparisons, and that, though rude in speech, he is not rude in knowledge. [11] They even dared to say that he was not truly Christ's but walked according to the flesh. But Paul writes them that at

[4] 1 Cor. iv. 21; xi. 34.

[5] 2 Cor. ii. 4.

[6] 2 Cor. vii. 8.

[7] 2 Cor. x. 9.

[8] If we have this severe letter at all it is in 2 Cor. x.-xiii. 10. It cannot have been 1 Cor., for although Paul does deal sternly with the case of fornication, there is nothing to indicate that he is in great grief and scarcely anything that he could have regretted writing. Whereas 2 Cor. x.-xiii. stands quite separate from chapters i.-ix., and answers that description well. See Moffatt's Intro. to N.T. for more details.

[9] 2 Cor. x. 1.

[10] 2 Cor. x. 10.

[11] 2 Cor. x. 11-18; 2 Cor. xi. 6.

least he does not "war according to the flesh," but attempts to bring "every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ," and that those who say he is not Christ's only look at the things immediately before their faces. [12]

It is quite evident that all this comes from the midst of a controversy with the details of which Paul is entirely familiar. It is probable, then, that it is all a reflection of the happenings during the unrecorded visit to Corinth, and shows that he had failed to accomplish the object of his visit. His enemies had insulted him, and triumphed over him for the moment. Just who these enemies were it is not easy to say. They claimed to be truer followers of Christ than Paul; [13] they preached a "different gospel" from Paul and claimed to be the true apostles, even using Paul's refusal to accept pay for his preaching as proof that he was not an apostle! They said he did not work the "signs" of an apostle; they even said he was "crafty," probably implying that he intended to use the money of the collection dishonestly. [14] Such charges must have been deeply painful to Paul. No doubt he answered them while in Corinth, but it is no wonder that he also wanted to write a letter to further show their absurdity and help win back his beloved Corinthians whom he still hoped to present "as a pure virgin to Christ." He uses strong language about those who have led them astray, calling them "false apostles" and ministers of Satan who are meddling in a province that does not belong to them. [15] He was driven, also, to defend his own apostleship. He felt the foolishness of such boasting, but told the Corinthians that they could easily bear with foolishness since they were so wise! Indeed, they seemed in the case of his opponent to be able to bear with a man however much he exalted

[12] 2 Cor. x. 2-7.

[13] 2 Cor. x. 7. This might possibly be a reference to a Christ-party in Corinth. See ch. XVI., p. 174.

[14] 2 Cor. xii. 16-18; 2 Cor. viii. 20, 21. On the collection see pp. 199 and 200.

[15] 2 Cor. xi. 13-15; 2 Cor. x. 14-16.

himself and even if he insulted them.[16] But what is Paul's chief claim to apostleship? His sufferings for the Gospel![17] Probably his opponents would not care to equal him in that qualification, though it undoubtedly proved devotion. Paul also speaks of his visions and his "thorn in the flesh," as indications of God's power manifest in his weakness.[18]

The fragment of this letter which we still possess closes with plans about coming back to Corinth. He would go and "gladly spend and be spent" for their souls, yet he fears to go so long as they are in their present state of mind lest there should be strife.[19] If he does come, however, he "will not spare" and his severity is to be proof, he says, that

"Christ speaketh in me."

However, he wishes to make no claims which they should not make, for he asks,

"Know ye not as to your own selves, that Jesus Christ is in you?"[20]

Certainly it was Paul's love for the Corinthians that prompted his severity,[21] for while he scornfully reproved them, he prayed for them—prayed that they might be saved even if he himself should be reprobate, prayed for their "perfecting."[22] Paul was not a meek man. He was a born fighter. When he met Christ and took him into his life, he did not lose his strong virile qualities. He was still a fighter, but no longer with weapons of

[16] 2 Cor. xi. 16-20. Verse 20 is certainly a reference to the leader of the trouble in Corinth, whoever he was.

[17] 2 Cor. xi. 21-33. His claim to be as good a Hebrew as his enemies, shows that they are Jews, yet they surely are not the kind of Judaizers that troubled the Galatians, for Paul says nothing about the Law.

[18] 2 Cor. xii. 1-10.

[19] 2 Cor. xii. 15, 20-21.

[20] 2 Cor. xiii. 1-5.

[21] 2 Cor. xi. 11; xii. 15.

[22] 2 Cor. xiii. 6-10. Verses 11-14 probably followed ix. 15. See p. 199.

the flesh.[23] Nevertheless he fought with the fierceness of love. Not only did Paul send this passionate letter but he sent Titus with it to be a living epistle.[24]

It is difficult to keep in mind that all these strenuous dealings with the Corinthians were carried on by Paul during the three years[25] of his active and dangerous work in Ephesus. Paul describes his last days in Ephesus thus:

"We would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning our affliction which befell us in Asia, that we were weighed down exceedingly, beyond our power, insomuch that we despaired even of life: yea, we ourselves have had the answer of death within ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead: who delivered us out of so great a death, and will deliver." [26]

Here Paul seems to have stood face to face with death. Perhaps it was on the occasion of the riot which Luke describes as the last event during Paul's stay in Ephesus. He had opposed magical practices and this aroused great opposition. As a result of his condemnation of Sceva and his seven sons who tried to use the name of Jesus as a magic word, a great pile of magical books were burned [27] and this probably made Paul some enemies. But the greatest difficulty arose from his opposition to the sale of the little images of the temple of Diana.[28] It seems to have been easy for Demetrius to call together the craftsmen who worked at image-making.

[23] 2 Cor. x. 4.

[24] Titus was the young man that Paul had taken to the Jerusalem council as a sample Gentile Christian. See ch. ix., p. 89. 2 Cor. xii. 17, 18, sounds as though Titus had been in Corinth before the trouble arose. 2 Cor. vii. 6, 7, is the chief evidence that Paul sent Titus again with the hope that he would help to settle matters in Corinth.

[25] Acts xix. 10; xx. 31.

[26] 2 Cor. i. 8-10.

[27] Acts xix. 13-20.

[28] Acts xix. 23-41. Concerning the temple of Diana see ch. xvi., p. 168, 170.

Perhaps they had some kind of a trade guild. They responded quickly to the complaints of Demetrius, whom Luke reports as putting the matter before them in the frank, business-like way that would appeal to them.

"Sirs, ye know that by this business we have our wealth. And ye see and hear that . . . this Paul has persuaded and turned away much people . . . and not only is there danger that this our trade come into disrepute but also that the temple of the great Goddess Diana be made of no account."

The whole city, too, seems to have been ready to respond to the danger call, and seizing two of Paul's companions[29] they rushed into the theatre.[30] Paul tried to go in and speak to the mob, but his friends and some of the public officials[31] would not permit him to do so. They were probably justified in this because the mob would not even listen to a Jew, Alexander,[32] but shouted for two hours,

"Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

Confusion reigned in this great theatre, which must have been capable of holding practically the whole city. Finally, the town clerk became the Gamaliel of the situation, pointing out that since no one could gainsay

[29] These two friends, Gaius and Aristarchus, had apparently travelled from Macedonia to help Paul. Probably this is Aristarchus of Thessalonica. See Acts xxvii. 2; Col. iv. 10; Philemon 24.

[30] The situation of the theatre in the centre of the city (see p. 168) made it an easy place to hold impromptu meetings. The whole contour of the theatre is still visible on the hillside, though not many of the seats are left. The stage, however, is remarkably well preserved. There is a fine view over the site of the city and out across the plain of the Cayster from the hill where the higher seats of the theatre were. Most of the things found here are in the Vienna Museum, but a few may be seen in the Ephesus room of the British Museum. See Nos. 1238-1255.

[31] These officials were called Asiarchs. They were officials who had special care of the public games and festivals. The feast in honour of Diana was held in May.

[32] Perhaps this was Alexander, the coppersmith who did much harm to Paul (2 Tim. iv. 14).

the power and place of the heaven-sent image of Diana there was certainly no reason for a riot, indeed, that it was dangerous to the privileges of the city, since it would be impossible to give any sensible reason for it. He told Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen that they should bring any grievance they had before the proconsul. To this calm reasoning the mob yielded.

Luke says that Paul went into Macedonia immediately after this riot[33] and Paul is certainly in Macedonia when he writes about having despaired of his life in Asia.[34] It is, therefore, probable that Paul came much nearer death in Ephesus than Luke's account of the riot indicates and that it was necessary for Paul to give up his work in Ephesus to save his life.[35]

But, though he was forced to leave, there were groups of Christians who would carry on his work. One group was the church that was in the house of Priscilla and Aquila.[36] Their home had become a centre for worship, and perhaps also the School of Tyrannus. That Priscilla was as much a helper in the affairs of their house-church as her husband is indicated by the fact that both Paul and Luke most often speak of Priscilla and Aquila instead of following the customary style of speaking of the husband first. "Prisca," as Paul calls her, no doubt, made people feel thoroughly at home when they came to her house to join in worship, and they remembered her as an important member of the worship-group.

Paul names several other persons, too, who had "brethren" or "saints" "with them." This probably refers to other house-churches and indicates that these small groups were important factors in the rapid spread

[33] Acts xx. 1.

[34] Cf. 2 Cor. ii. 13 and i. 8-11. See p. 188.

[35] Of course it is uncertain whether Paul is referring to the riot incident or not. The evidence is simply that both seem to come at the end of his stay in Ephesus.

[36] 1 Cor. xvi. 19. 1 Cor. was written from Ephesus, Rom. xvi. 5. This chapter was probably written to Ephesus. See p. 169.

of Christianity in cities like Corinth and Ephesus which were already so full of philosophies and religions that it is difficult to understand how the Gospel got a permanent foothold.[37] It must have been because in these house-churches it actually took hold of the deepest elements of life and gave them true development. In these little groups Love would not be merely a high-sounding word that Paul preached and wrote about, but an actual power realized in a thousand ways. We see some lights reflected from this Ephesian fellowship in the greetings which Paul later sends to them. There was "Epænetus my beloved"[38] who was the first Christian in Asia, there was Mary[39] who "bestowed much labour" on the members of the fellowship, there were Andronicus and Junias who were "apostles," who had been Christians before Paul and had come from somewhere else to help him in Ephesus, there was Ampliatus whom Paul calls "my beloved in the Lord" and Urbanus to whom he refers as "our fellow-worker in Christ" and "Stachys my beloved" and "Apelles the approved in Christ;" there were also those of the households of Aristobulus and Narcissus who were perhaps groups of slaves who also had a house-church, and there was Rufus whose mother had also been a mother to Paul. These and the other references in this note to members of the brotherhood show how permeated with love and service and worship were these groups. One can begin to understand from such glimpses into their life how Paul could write his great Hymn to Love in which he realizes that—

[37] Other house-churches are mentioned in Col. iv. 15 and Philemon 2.

[38] Rom. xvi. 5-16. Since it was in Ephesus that Paul did his first preaching in the Roman province of Asia, it is probable that Epænetus was an Ephesian. On destination of Rom. xvi. see ch. XVI., p. 169.

[39] How was Mary's labour bestowed, one wonders. At least, the description shows that labour for one another was one of the elements of these groups. See also verse 12.

"Love suffereth long,
Kind is love,
Not envious is love.
It boasteth not,
Is not puffed up,
Is not unseemly.

It seeketh not its own,
Is not provoked,
Taketh no account of evil.

It rejoiceth not in unrighteousness,
But rejoiceth with the truth.
It covereth all things,
Believeth all things,
Hopeth all things,
Endureth all things.[40]

Such practical realization of the restraint and kind consideration of Love could come only out of community life. Paul wrote this great hymn to the Corinthians who were at the moment violating its principles, but he wrote it in Ephesus where they were being realized. When, during these last days in Ephesus, he is compelled to write this epistle, which made the Corinthians sorry[41] and which must have been sorrowful to him, he was supported by the love and fellowship manifested in the Christian communities around him. Forced to quit Ephesus he leaves behind these living Christian fellowships which he expects to be able to flourish without him since they embody the true Spirit which is Love. Probably there were churches in other places in Asia[42]

[40] 1 Cor. xiii. 4-7. See p. 182 for the beginning of this translation of the chapter, which comes from Prof. Deissman's "St. Paul," and p. 246 for the rest.

[41] 2 Cor. vii. 8; see p. 185-188.

[42] 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Acts xix. 10, 26 and xx. 18, 20. It is doubtful whether Paul himself travelled about much outside of Ephesus since he never visited either Colossæ or Laodicea. (Col. ii. 1.)

too, as a result of the Ephesian work, since Paul speaks of the " Churches of Asia."

Paul, probably left or sent Timothy to help with the work in Ephesus when he himself travelled north,[43] perhaps by sea, sailing from Miletus to Troas. Apparently he came to Troas with the idea of beginning work there for he says he came " for the gospel of Christ " and that a " door was opened " unto him. But he was so troubled because he did not find Titus there from whom he longed to learn the results of the severe letter to the Corinthians, that he went on almost immediately to Macedonia.[44] Arrived in Macedonia, his anxiety found no relief, but he was " afflicted on every side."[45] Driven out of Ephesus and able to hear no good news from Corinth, everything seemed dark. Possibly it was in this time of distress that Paul sent a note to Timothy saying,

" Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me. . . . I have sent Tychicus to Ephesus. The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, bring when thou comest, and the books, especially the parchments. Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil ; the Lord will render to him according to his works ; of whom be thou ware also. . . Salute Prisca and Aquila and the house of Onesiphorus. Erastus abode at Corinth but Trophimus I left at Miletus sick."[46]

If Paul had been compelled to leave his travelling companion behind at Miletus when he started to Troas

[43] This conclusion can be drawn from 1 Tim. i. 3, irrespective of the problem as to whether Paul wrote 1 Timothy, for it means that at least there was an early tradition that Timothy was left in Ephesus by Paul.

[44] 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13 ; Acts xx. 1. It was at Troas that Paul had been when the man of Macedonia had beckoned to him.

[45] 2 Cor. vii. 5.

[46] 2 Tim. iv. 9, 12-15, 19, 20. It is uncertain whether these notes from 2 Tim. should be put in here, but they cannot be fitted into any part of Paul's life of which we know, except here. But, of course, they may refer to a part of which we do not know. See p. 240 for further discussion.

it gives an additional reason for his not continuing work there; if he had hoped that Erastus from Corinth would join him and neither he nor Titus had come, it explains why Paul was so discouraged in Macedonia. Finally he was "comforted" by "the coming of Titus."[47] and Timothy must have come soon, for he joined with Paul in greetings to the Corinthians in the letter which he wrote just after the coming of Titus.[48]

Titus brought good news from Corinth. Love at last had brought harmony. Titus probably brought a letter in which the Corinthians told Paul that he was their "glorying."[49] At any rate he told of the "longing" and "mourning" and "zeal" which the Corinthians had for Paul because of their recent disloyalty to him. Titus told, also, how he had been received with "fear and trembling" and his spirit been refreshed[50] by the Corinthians. Paul no longer regretted having written the letter that made them "sorry," for now he had proof that it had done what he had hoped—made them "sorry unto repentance." Not only he that "did the wrong" and he that "suffered the wrong" but the whole brotherhood were brought to a "godly sorrow."[51] There had been a meeting of the brotherhood in which the majority of those present decided to inflict a certain punishment upon the offender though some thought it should have been even more severe. Titus' report was, then, of the victory of Love in Corinth. Paul had not poured out to them his great Hymn in vain, he had not loved them in vain, though it looked for a time as though they had utterly failed to reach his ideals. Now Paul's heart overflows with joy and thankfulness which he expresses in another letter to the

[47] 2 Cor. vii. 6.

[48] 2 Cor. i. 1.

[49] 2 Cor. i. 14.

[50] 2 Cor. vii. 5, 13-16.

[51] 1 Cor. vii. 8-12. We have no means of knowing who this wrong-doer was or what he had done. See pp. 186, 187.

Corinthians.[52] Timothy is with Paul by this time to share the joy and they greet the "saints" at Corinth with thankfulness that God had brought comfort in their affliction.[53]

"Thanks be unto God which always leadeth us in triumph in Christ," cries Paul in his joy over the report of Titus.[54] His "sincerity" is, at last, recognised by his Corinthian friends, and he has once more become to them "a savour from life unto life." He does not wish them to think that he is writing "again to commend"[55] himself to them. It is no longer necessary, for he writes,

"Ye are our epistle, written in our hearts, known and read of all men; being made manifest that ye are an epistle of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in tables that are hearts of flesh."[56]

These transformed Corinthians, then, Paul still feels are sufficient proof of the value of his Gospel. One might have supposed that their recent conduct would have shaken his faith in the Gospel of the Spirit as sufficient for such carnal people, but it has not for he

[52] This last extant letter of Paul to the Corinthians is certainly our 2 Cor. It is from it that we learn all we know about the mission of Titus to Corinth and his success there. But the only part of the letter that is full of the thankfulness which this success would make natural is 2 Cor. i. 1-vi. 13 and vii. 2-ix. 15 and xiii. 11-14. Of the rest, vi. 14-vii. 1 is such an abrupt interruption of the thought that it is probably an earlier letter (see pp. 168 and 171), and x. 1-xiii. 10 is, as we have seen (pp. 185-188), so severe and critical in tone that it may well be the letter that made the Corinthians "sorry." It, therefore, seems best to conclude that these three entirely different parts of 2 Cor. are different letters or parts of letters which long afterwards were put together. See pp. 198, 199, for summary of Paul's Corinthian correspondence.

[53] 2 Cor. i. 1-7.

[54] 2 Cor. ii. 13-17.

[55] 2 Cor. iii. 1. He had seemed to be commending himself in the severe letter. See 2 Cor. xii. 11 and v. 12.

[56] 2 Cor. iii 2.

still has " such confidence " " through Christ to Godward " that he still affirms that he is the minister of " a new covenant ; not of the letter but of the spirit," and he still believes that " the spirit giveth life " whereas " the letter killeth."[57] One might have supposed that Paul would be ready to admit now that absolute liberty could not be given to such people as the Corinthians. One might have expected him to suggest some rules for life and worship, but instead he still affirms that, " Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."[58]

Liberty to walk according to the leading of the Spirit is the heart of Paul's Gospel and he does not abandon it because some do not accept it and others fail to live up to it. Instead, he explains that if his " gospel is veiled it is veiled in them that are perishing." The " veil " which " lieth upon their heart " shuts out the " light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." But to the Corinthians who have now removed the darkening veil of contention he writes,

" We all, with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit."[59]

Paul sees that even those who have removed all barriers from between themselves and the light are being only gradually transformed and this helps him to be charitable to those who fail to see or live up to ideals. Earlier in his letter he had been generous enough to advise forgiveness and love toward the one who had been the chief cause of the trouble in Corinth lest he " be swallowed up with his overmuch sorrow."[60] He recognizes also that even the best have this treasure of the Gospel in corruptible earthen vessels. Yet it is this inner treasure that gives one's life a share in the

[57] 2 Cor. iii. 4-11.
[58] 2 Cor. iii. 17.
[59] 2 Cor. iii. 12-iv. 6.
[60] 2 Cor. ii. 6-8.

greatness of God; it is this power of God within that makes it possible to endure, whatever may happen to the outer vessel. Because of this inner power one may be,

"Perplexed yet not unto despair; pursued yet not forsaken; smitten down yet not destroyed."

Indeed, those who are followers of Jesus are,

"Always bearing about in the body the dying of Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our body."[61]

Here we see again the secret of the indomitable spirit of Paul. He could be brought face to face with death in Ephesus, he could hear of the disloyalty of his disciples in Corinth and still "faint not" for his "inward man" was "renewed day by day." With whatever afflictions he found himself surrounded he had learned to,

"Look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen," for he knew that "the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal."[62]

He could be "always of good courage" because he felt sure that,

"If the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."[63]

He sometimes longed to be rid of the burden of the body that he might be immediately in the presence of Christ,[64] but he did not allow this desire to sap his

[61] 2 Cor. iv. 7-15.

[62] 2 Cor. iv. 16-18.

[63] 2 Cor. v. 1, 6.

[64] 2 Cor. v. 2-10. This hope that he would be in the presence of Christ immediately after death, indicates that he is not expecting the Kingdom to appear so soon as he believed when he wrote Thessalonians, and that he does not now think that the dead will sleep until the Lord comes. But 8-10 indicates that he has not entirely given up the idea of a future judgment day.

working powers. Constrained by the love of Christ he continued to "persuade men" to be reconciled to God, and thus to become new creatures "in Christ."[65] Conscious that he is working together with God he entreats men to accept salvation now[66] though it may bring them affliction as it has him. His ministry to the Corinthians since he left them certainly suggested some of the items in his catalogue of trials, for it had been,

"In much patience, in affliction, in necessities, in distresses, in pureness, in knowledge, in long suffering, in kindness, in the Holy Spirit, in love unfeigned, in the word of truth, in the power of God."[67]

Since he was compelled to minister to their difficulties chiefly by letter we have been able to know something of how Paul waited with patience and confidence for the triumph of the Christ-life within them.

A brief summary of his relations to the Corinthians since leaving them is as follows:[68]

1. The "previous letter" of Paul to the Corinthians: 2 Cor. vi. 14.–vii. 1.
2. Report brought to Paul by the household of Chloe: 1 Cor. i. 11.
3. Timothy sent to Corinth: 1 Cor. iv. 17.
4. Visit of Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, probably bringing a letter from the Corinthians to Paul: 1 Cor. xvi. 17.
5. Letter from Paul to Corinthians, probably sent by Stephanas: 1 Cor.
6. Return of Timothy with unfavourable report.

[65] 2 Cor. v. 11-21. See chapter XVIII., p. 207ff, for more definite consideration of what is said in these verses about the death of Jesus and the new life through him.

[66] 2 Cor. vi. 1, 2.

[67] 2 Cor. vi. 3-7.

[68] As has been pointed out in the chapter many of these points are uncertain, because our evidence is insufficient, but this states the tentative conclusions reached here

7. Sorrowful visit of Paul to Corinth: 2 Cor. ii. 1-11.
8. A "severe letter" sent to Corinth probably by Titus, 2 Cor. x. 1–xiii. 10.
9. Return of Titus with good report to Paul in Macedonia after he was driven from Ephesus: 2 Cor. vii. 5-13.
10. A joyful letter sent by Titus to Corinth: 2 Cor. i. 1-vi. 13, and vii. 2–ix. 15 and xiii. 11-14.

In this last letter to the Corinthians Paul must have been keenly conscious of the difficulties he had recently experienced with them when they had believed evil reports of various sorts about him,[69] yet he bears them no malice and only rejoices that in spite of tribulations he is "rich," "possessing all things."[70] Without reserve he gives his love and asks theirs in return: "Our mouth is open unto you, O Corinthians, our heart is enlarged. . . Open your hearts to us. . . Ye are in our hearts to die together and live together. . . I am filled with comfort, I overflow with joy in all our affliction."[71]

One request he makes—that they shall interest themselves in the collection which Titus is making[72] and then after a final admonition to "Be perfected" closes his letter with that benediction unequalled for beauty and meaning:

> "The Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and
> The Love of God, and
> The Communion of the Holy Spirit,
> Be with you all."[73]

[69] 2 Cor. vi. 8, 9.

[70] 2 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

[71] 2 Cor. vi. 11-13; vii. 3-4.

[72] 2 Cor. viii. and ix. will be treated more in detail in the next chapter.

[73] 2 Cor. xiii. 11-14.

CHAPTER XVIII

PAUL RISKS HIS LIFE FOR HIS BRETHREN IN JERUSALEM.

DESPITE his joy over the victory of love and harmony in Corinth, Paul does not go there at once. The fact is that Paul has a great enterprise in mind. He is keenly conscious that in preaching the Gospel without the Law to the Gentiles he has been understood by many to despise his own people and to divide Christians into Jewish and Gentile factions. Now he is about to complete a plan for presenting a gift from the Gentile Christians to those of Jerusalem as proof of essential unity and love.

Some time before this Paul had written asking the Corinthians to begin laying up this "collection for the saints" so that it might be ready either to send or take to Jerusalem when he came to Corinth.[1] He had expected to go to Corinth in a few months, after "Pentecost,"[2] but now a year has passed[3] and he has not been able to carry out his plans because of the trouble both in Corinth and Ephesus. Titus has brought word that some in Corinth accuse him of "fickleness" because he has not carried out his plans and Paul has replied that the yea and nay concerning his plans always belong to God.[4]

[1] 1 Cor. xvi. 1-4. Ch. XVI., p. 183. He also mentions having sent the same word to Galatia, though we do not know how or when. No doubt Paul had much correspondence with his churches of which we do not know.

[2] 1 Cor. xvi. 5-9. Cf. ch. XVI., p. 184.

[3] 2 Cor. viii. 10.

[4] 2 Cor. i. 15-20.

Nevertheless, Paul does not now hurry to Corinth but instead sends Titus off with his letter and directions for finishing the collection. Titus had begun this collection in Corinth a year ago and Paul felt that it was better for him to finish it and Titus was glad to undertake the work. Paul also sent with him "the brother whose praise in the Gospel is spread through all the churches" and also another "brother" whom Paul had many times "proved earnest."[5] Perhaps Paul felt some delicacy about going to Corinth to finish the collection since his enemies had dared to criticize him about it.[6] He preferred to wait till every possible cause for misunderstanding was removed. Besides, he himself was making the collection among the Macedonians. He was boasting to them that Achaia (*i.e.* Corinth) had been prepared "for a year past." He generously forgets all the period when Corinth was disloyal to him and uses their zeal to stir up Macedonia, at the same time telling the Corinthians in the letter he is sending off by Titus to be sure to finish their collection at once so that if any Macedonians should come along with him to Corinth they could see that his boasts were true![7] He urged the Corinthians to join heartily with the brethren he was sending "before-hand," because "God loveth a cheerful giver" and because the collection would not only supply the needs of the "saints" in Jerusalem but would increase their love to Gentiles when they saw "the exceeding grace of God" in them.[8]

It shows how skilful and generous Paul had been in preaching his gospel of freedom from the Jewish Law that these Gentile churches responded to his plan of

[5] 2 Cor. viii. 6-24 and xii. 18. We do not have an account of that visit of Titus to Corinth when he began making the collection, but these verses show that he must have been in Corinth about the time of the writing of 1 Corinthians, for then Paul asked them to begin the collection. 1 Cor. xvi. 1-4. See ch. XVI., p. 183.

[6] See ch. XVII., p. 186.

[7] 2 Cor. ix. 1-4.

[8] 2 Cor. ix. 5-14.

showing fellowship to Jerusalem Christians who did keep the Law. Even Galatia, to whom he had been compelled to use strong words against Peter and those whom James sent out from Jerusalem, had not been embittered against Jerusalem and now they collect money for the gift.[9] The Macedonians, Paul bears witness, gave "beyond their power" because of their great desire to enter heartily into "the fellowship in the ministering to the saints."[10]

Finally, Paul followed Titus and the brethren to Corinth and, no doubt, he found that he who had "caused sorrow"[11] and those who had allowed themselves to be estranged from Paul now opened their hearts to him as eagerly as he had asked.[12] Paul seems to have made his home in Corinth at the house of Gaius for he speaks of "Gaius, my host" in a letter written at the time.[13] Perhaps the church or one of the house-churches met in the house of Gaius since Paul mentions in the same sentence the salutations of the whole church. Other Corinthian friends of his were "Erastus the treasurer of the city," and "Quartus the brother" and Lucius and Jason and Sosipater.[14]

Paul stayed with these friends for three months[15] and while here wrote the note for Phœbe of Cenchreae bespeaking her a welcome in Ephesus. Why Phœbe is going to Ephesus we have no indication, but she was apparently staying long enough to wish to enter into fellowship with the Ephesian brotherhoods. Paul seems to be glad to do this friendly courtesy for Phœbe and takes the occasion to send warm greetings to

[9] 1 Cor. xvi. 1 shows that Paul asked them to contribute, and Acts xx. 4 shows that they did, since Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy from Lystra were in the party who carried the money.

[10] 2 Cor. viii. 1-4.

[11] 2 Cor. ii. 5.

[12] 2 Cor. vii. 2, 11. See ch. XVII., p. 199.

[13] Rom. xvi. 23. Probably this is the Gaius that he had baptized. 1 Cor. i. 14.

[14] Rom. xvi. 21-24.

[15] Acts xx. 2, 3. This reference to three months in Greece must refer to this stay in Corinth

"Prisca and Aquila" and many other friends and, also, to warn them against allowing any divisions. He rejoices over the good report he has from them and tells them to be "wise unto that which is good and simple unto that which is evil." Timothy joins Paul in salutations as does Tertius, Paul's scribe.[16]

It was here in Corinth that the Roman letter also was written as is clear from the references in it to the collection which is about to be taken to Jerusalem.[17] Why does Paul write to the Romans whom he has never seen? He answers this question in the opening of his letter.

"I long to see you that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift . . . that I with you may be comforted in you, each of us by the other's faith . . . . Oftentimes I purposed to come unto you (and was hindered hitherto) that I might have some fruit in you as in the rest of the Gentiles."

He had been hoping and praying that he might go straight on from Corinth to Rome[18] but now he feels that he must again give up Rome because of the "ministering unto the saints" in Jerusalem,[19] and must content himself with a letter to the capitol city.

Paul was a Roman citizen, all his life had been spent in the Roman Empire and all his work had been a conquest of provinces of the Roman Empire for Christ. That he had dreamed of winning the whole of the Empire for his Master and had definitely worked towards Rome as a goal is shown by the following statement:

"From Jerusalem round about even unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ, yea, making

[16] Rom. xvi. 21. See ch. XVI., p. 169, and ch. XVII., p. 193.

[17] Rom. xv. 25, 26, 31. Note that since writing 1 Cor. xvi. 3,4, Paul has decided that it is best for him to go to Jerusalem.

[18] Rom. i. 9-13.

[19] Rom. xv. 25.

it my aim so to preach the gospel, not where Christ was already named, that I might not build upon another man's foundation—but now, having no more any place in these regions, and having these many years a longing to come unto you, whensoever I go unto Spain, for I hope to see you in my journey."[20]

Paul was no haphazard campaigner. In his mind's eye he saw the great Roman Empire, and in his heart he took it for Christ and gave to its people the joy of the new Christ-life. The great empire cast its spell over him as it had over many a man. But he was not seeking glory or advantage himself from this empire. He did not wish even to interfere with any other man's work in it. He longed to see Rome not because he could found a Pauline Church there, since already there was a Christian community[21], but because it was Rome, the heart of the empire in which he had preached the gospel as systematically as circumstances permitted.[22] Rome in a sense belonged to his Gentile world, and he longs to see the church there and be sure that it is thriving as the church in the capital should, before he goes on to the provinces which lie beyond. Spain is the only province he mentions, but probably he means to travel by land and take in Gaul. And who knows but he may have thought also of the little Roman province of Britain lying just beyond? But since he feels it right to delay his visit to Rome and the provinces beyond until after he had taken the collection to Jerusalem, he writes his letter to the Romans.

[20] Rom. xv. 19-24. On Illyricum, see ch. XIII., p. 127. It is possible that Paul might have come over to Illyricum during this last visit to Macedonia and Achaia.

[21] There is no evidence to show who founded the church at Rome. Later tradition says it was Peter. Probably it was founded by merchants and slaves and Christian workmen whose business took them to Rome.

[22] Look at the map, and see how he had gone right round the Mediterranean, taking province by province of the Empire. He had been compelled to skip Asia at first, but had come back to it and now he is looking to Rome and Spain.

In this letter he has stated his Gospel more fully than elsewhere.[23] He calls it "the power of God unto salvation." That the Gentiles need this power is clear because they have disregarded the fact that "God is manifest in them" and has spoken to them through nature,[24] that the Jews also need a different way of righteousness is apparent from the fact that by the works of the Law no one stands justified before God.[25] It is for this reason that,

"Now apart from the law . . . hath been manifested . . . the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ."[26]

This puts Jew and Gentile on the same basis, for both may be "justified by faith." Paul states his doctrine of justification[27] by faith thus:

"To him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness."[28]

Does Paul mean to teach, then, that God accepts faith in place of righteousness? He certainly seems to maintain this when he argues that Abraham was not "justified by works" but by faith.[29] But how can faith take the place of righteous deeds? Is it not immoral to allow anything to take the place of righteousness? This question takes us to the point that is often missed by Paul's critics which is, that faith is not, in Paul's thinking, a mere belief or anything whatsoever that usurps the place of righteousness but is a force producing true inner righteousness. It is, in fact, another name for

[23] Rom. i. 15-16.

[24] Rom. i. 18-32. Rom. ii. 15.

[25] Rom. ii. 1-iii. 20.

[26] Rom. iii. 20-28.

[27] Justification is a legal term connected with the Jewish idea of the Judgment Day when everyone hoped to stand before God justified, that is, uncondemned.

[28] Rom. iv. 5.

[29] Rom. iv. 1-25. See ch. XV., pp. 154-156.

the Gospel which he has here defined as "the power of God unto salvation." He points out that when one is "justified by faith" one has "the love of God . . . shed abroad in the heart."[30] Clearly, only righteousness can flow from the love of God in the heart. Faith is, then, to Paul an inner connection with God,[31] through Christ, which naturally produces God-likeness.

Faith is simply one aspect of Love and Love secures "peace with God" at once. In the new Faith Era it is no longer necessary to think of God as a Judge who will carefully balance the good and evil deeds of a life to determine whether that life will be justified either here or at the Judgment Day, but rather as a Father who longs for the love of his children now, and knows that true loving acts must inevitably flow from Love. Deeds can be truly righteous, indeed, only if they flow from Love. Faith, therefore, is the best guarantee of Righteousness. God, our Father, accepts, then, the longings, the ideals, the faith and love of our hearts responding at once with peace, joy, love.

But why does Paul so often emphasize that this life-giving Faith is "in Jesus Christ," especially why does he so often connect it with the death of Christ as he definitely does here in Romans? It is because the death of Christ is to him the supreme expression of that love of God which responds to the faith of his children. The opposite might seem to be implied by his use of the word "propitiation"[32] but it is certain that Paul did not mean that God was angry with

[30] Rom. v. 1-5.

[31] See ch. X., p. 105.

[32] Rom. iii. 25. The word propitiation is exceedingly difficult to translate because it is here an adjective with which a noun must be understood. But what noun? Should we supply sacrifice—a propitiatory sacrifice? But it is by no means certain that Paul is thinking of a sacrifice here, though the words "by his blood" give some support to that interpretation. Should one supply a propitiatory "thing," or "being," or "person"? Since Paul does not make the idea more definite, and since he uses the term nowhere else, it cannot be certain what he means and it cannot be so fundamental to his thoughts a

man and had to be propitiated to make him kind as the heathen tried to propitiate their gods with gifts or sacrifices. On the contrary Paul definitely says that it was the "grace"[33] of God Himself that "set forth" Jesus as a propitiation. It is precisely by the fact that "Christ died for us" that "God commends His love towards us."[34] So far from God's needing to be propitiated and reconciled to us, Paul says that, "We were reconciled to God by the death of His Son."[35] Nevertheless we are actually saved from the "wrath" of God which would necessarily have come upon us if He had not shown us a way to destroy sin, for the "wages of sin is death."[36] No wonder that

theology has made it. It seems probable that he uses it this one time with the *central idea of the term*, that is, to express the fact that Jesus accomplished, namely, the bringing of harmony between the estranged. He does not say *how* he brought harmony, though the words "by his blood" indicate that Paul is thinking of his death, but not necessarily as a sacrifice. Now this same word propitiatory—or propitiation—was applied by the Jews to the Mercy-seat in the Holy of Holies, and it is so translated in Heb. ix. 5. Paul may possibly be thinking of the Mercy-seat. At any rate, we can be sure only of this, that Jesus was propitiatory, because he brought harmony between God and man.

[33] Rom. iii. 24, 25.

[34] Rom. v. 8.

[35] Rom. v. 10; 2 Cor. v. 18-20.

[36] Rom. v. 9 and vi. 23. But there is nothing in Paul that proves that he held anything like a doctrine of substitutionary atonement. He does not say anywhere that Jesus paid the penalty for our sins in place of us. He does say that he became "a curse for us" (Gal. iii. 13), and "sin on our behalf" (2 Cor. v. 21), but this does not with certainty mean more than that *it was for our sake that he suffered as if he were a sinner.* It was in order that he might show us how to be holy children of God upon whom love might come instead of wrath. Furthermore, there is nothing to indicate that Jesus had to pay the penalty for our past sins. On the contrary, Paul says that God looked with "forbearance" upon the past (Rom. iii. 25), "not reckoning unto them their trespasses" (2 Cor. v. 19). To use later theological terms, Jesus' death, according to Paul, is not necessarily substitutionary, but is certainly vicarious, that is, it was not in place of others, but was for the sake of others.

Paul marvelled that the love of God should save us from His wrath!

Since, then, it is the death of Christ that reveals the love of God[37] which can unite man and God by faith, it can be spoken of as a propitiation or as "our passover"

[37] The passages cited below and many more which might be collected, make it clear that, in Paul's thinking, Jesus' death did express the love of Christ, and the love of God, but they leave unanswered the question, *How?* It is practically impossible to know now exactly how Paul thought it out, but we will look briefly at a few of the passages:

(*a*) One text in Gal. iii. 13 makes fairly clear one phase of his thought which was that Jesus' death broke the curse of the Law. Since he was holy, God did not allow him to remain accursed, although the Law pronounced all who were crucified accursed. This is an explanation coming entirely out of Paul's Jewish training. It supposes that the Law could not be done away without the breaking and doing away with its curse. God's vindication of the holy death of Jesus did exactly that. See ch. VI., p. 56, for further discussion of the passage.

(*b*) Rom. iii. 24-26. See p. 206 and p. 207. Jesus is a propitiation, but *how* he became so is not explained.

(*c*) Rom. v. 6-11 states more elaborately than many passages that we are "justified by his blood," that is, by his death we are reconciled, but gives no indication whatsoever as to *how* this is true. It is interesting that this passage points out that though we are reconciled by his death, we are "saved by his life."

(*d*) Rom. viii. 2, 3. says, "God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and ('as an offering' is added by translators, but is by no means certainly implied) for sin, condemned sin in the flesh." But *how* did Jesus condemn sin? Was it by his death, or by his holy life, or both? Paul does not explain. However, it is interesting to note that it is the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus that frees from the Law. This shows that Paul at least is not thinking of the death of Jesus as a separate fact.

(*e*) Rom. vi. 6-11 states Paul's mystical explanation. "We died with Christ." "Our old man was crucified with him." According to this, Christ died because we need to die; in order to raise us to holiness he identified himself with all our needs and died that we might die with him and rose again that we might live the holy life with him. 2 Cor. v. 14—"One died for all, therefore all died," might seem to imply that all died at the time of Jesus' crucifixion, by some legal fiction, but that he does not mean that is shown by the rest of the chapter, where each Christian is shown to actually die, so that old things pass away and all things become new "in Christ." See Rom. vii. 1-6 for another statement of death to the Law and sin, and life "in

or as a " redemption " or " an odour of a sweet smell."[38] All these are but terms chosen to attempt to make clearer the central fact, known by experience, that Jesus has introduced a way of righteousness that does actually conquer sin in the soul.

But the language in which Paul most completely sets forth the spiritual experience underlying his doctrine of justification by faith in Christ is that in which he shows the mystical unity with the death and resurrection of Christ. Sin does not continue in the life that has been buried with Christ and has risen with him to " newness of life."[39] Paul has a picturesque name for the part of the person that dies when one is united to Christ by faith—" our old man," he calls it :

" Our old man was crucified with him, that the body of sin might be done away."[40]

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newness of the spirit." Also Rom. v. 12-21, where in Christ, the new Adam, all may find " justification of life."

Paul has certainly been wrongly estimated as primarily a theologian, his letters show that he is primarily interested in spiritual experience. Only a small portion of his writings deal with theology, and often it is not thoroughly worked out. He was a man with a rich spiritual life, who wished to impart it to others, and one of the marvellous things about him was his power of helping others into his own type of spiritual life. For his intellectual explanations he had to use the language and ideas of his time, and no doubt his words were more intelligible then than now. His mystical explanation of Christ's death probably meant most to the Gentiles, and his words about the Law and the Gospel were most helpful to the Jews. But the incompleteness of all his explanations in his letters indicates that his interest and power did not lie primarily in convincing others of his intellectual position but rather in imparting his abounding life of love and joy. He refused to be a philosopher or theologian, and chose to be a minister of Faith and Love.

[38] " Passover "—1 Cor. v. 7. Here the context shows that Paul is using passover as a symbol (see ch. XVI., p. 172). " Redemption "—Rom. iii. 24 and 1 Cor. i. 30. There is no indication as to what the process of redemption is—whether a price paid or life given. " Odor "—Eph. v. 2. Evidently figurative. How far Paul uses any of these words figuratively, and how far literally, is very difficult to determine.

[39] Rom. vi. 23.

[40] Rom. vi. 6.

Since faith in the death of Christ means to each of his followers death to the baser part of the nature and life to the nobler Christ-like qualities, it brings one into harmony with God.[41] That attainment to this unity of experience with Christ is indeed like passing through the darkness of death to life, Paul himself knows when he remembers the time when his "old man" was like a body of death fastened upon him and he was struggling painfully between the carnal and the spiritual.[42] He knows it, too, in the daily dying with Christ.[43]

But he knows, also, that one not only dies with him but lives with him; that after the crucifixion with Christ there follows the joyous living in his presence. Then "the law of the Spirit of life" is within one[44] indeed, "Christ is in you." From this it is quite clear that when Paul speaks of the death of Jesus he includes the resurrection. It is not merely death, but victorious death, death issuing in life that saves.[45] The value of dying with Christ consists in the ability it gives one to have "the life also of Jesus" "manifested in our mortal flesh."[46]

Now this Christ-like life is really the life of the Spirit. To have Christ within us is to have the Spirit of God[47] directing one's life, and this is to become a son of God.[48] How incomparable, indeed, as Paul says, are the sufferings of dying with Christ to the "liberty of the glory of the children of God!"[49]

Entering into this life with Christ it follows that one is "conformed to the image of his Son," and that

[41] This is the same thing as justification by faith.
[42] Rom. vii. 7-25. See ch. IV., p. 47.
[43] 1 Cor. xv. 31.
[44] Rom. viii. 1, 2.
[45] Rom. v. 10; iv. 25; 1 Cor. xv. 17; 2 Cor. iv. 10, 11.
[46] 2 Cor. iv. 25.
[47] Rom. viii. 5-11.
[48] Rom. viii. 12-16
[49] Rom. viii. 17-25

Christ becomes " the first-born among many brethren."[50] Such a marvellous transforming power is faith in Christ that it makes us brothers to Christ ! And it takes faith both in the crucified and in the living Christ to attain to fellowship with God, because the self-denying, love-expressing, Christ-like life is the God-like life. Because Christ's love is to Paul the manifestation of God's love he writes,

" Who shall separate us from the *love of Christ?* "[51] and replies that nothing in heaven or earth " shall be able to separate us from *the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus* our Lord."

The desire which is taking Paul to Jerusalem now instead of Rome finds expression in the Roman letter, where he says that he is so filled with sorrow because his brethren have rejected Christ that he could even wish himself " anathema from Christ," if he might help them.[52] He expresses also his faith that God has not cast off His people[53] though many of them seem to have rejected the Gospel. Paul compares the Jews to an olive tree, and the Gentiles to a grafted branch from a wild olive and asks,

" If thou wast cut out of that which is by nature a wild olive tree, and wast grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree ; how much more shall these, which are the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree ? "[54]

[50] Rom. viii. 28-30.

[51] Rom. viii. 31-39.

[52] Rom. ix. 3. Chapters ix.-xi. of Romans is a discussion of the problem of the relation of the Jews to the Gospel. It is difficult to follow; Paul states forcibly the sovereignty of God, especially His right to destroy the Jews if He wishes. But note that Paul does, in fact, put the responsibility upon the Jews themselves for not finding true righteousness. They have not sought in the right way. See ix. 30-x. 9. They have rejected the word of faith, which is " nigh thee."

[53] Rom. xi. 1ff.

[54] Rom. xi, 16-24.

He confidently looks forward to the time of the "fulness of the Gentiles"[55] when they by the power of their Christian lives shall be able to help the Jews to see that the Gospel is the true climax of their history.

It may seem strange that Paul should write all this about the Jews to the Gentile church at Rome, but it was because he wanted them to see that they, too, have a part in the "good and acceptable and perfect" plans of God,[56] that they may live up to their highest, presenting their whole being as "a living sacrifice" to God. No doubt Paul thought that the church at the capitol city would have much to do with the bringing in of the "fulness of the Gentiles." He wishes to urge, therefore, that each one of them find his part in the work of the church, and do it well[57] and that the whole of their lives be kept up to the highest moral and spiritual standard. He points out to them that the Gospel of the Kingdom which they have entered consists of such spiritual things as "righteousness and peace and joy" which they ought to make prevail in the world.[58]

Sending off the letter to the Romans probably by one of the many travellers to that city Paul turns toward Jerusalem with his gift, though he knows that he is going into the midst of enemies.[59] He means to put into practice his statement that he would be willing to endure anything if he might win his brethren.[60] Now he is about to risk his life for his brethren. He must establish fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians. Otherwise there is no hope that the Jews will accept Christ.

Apparently evidence of the enmity of the Jews met him even before leaving Corinth. He had meant to sail straight from Cenchreae to Joppa, but a plot of the

[55] Rom. xi, 12, 25.

[56] Rom. xii. 1, 2.

[57] Rom. xii. 1-18.

[58] Rom. xii. 9-xv. 13. These chapters are among the finest of the passages showing the practical side of the Gospel.

[59] Rom. xv. 30, 31.

[60] See above p. 211.

Jews, perhaps to take his life on board, caused him to change his plans and start for Macedonia.[61] Again Paul shows his belief in the power of living epistles and has delegates appointed from the Gentile churches to go with their gift of love.[62] In Macedonia Paul is joined once more by his "beloved physician," Luke, who now continues the narrative with the pronoun "we." After the Passover feast in Philippi they travelled again together across the Ægean Sea.[63] At Troas they found the delegates from Macedonia, Galatia, Achaia and Asia waiting for them.[64] Here they remained a week, and Luke tells of one night when they talked together until midnight when a young man Eutychus was so overcome with sleep that he fell out of the third-story window. But Paul ran down and declared that his life was still in him.[65] The company seem to have broken bread together at midnight and then to have talked till dawn. Probably this all-night gathering was due to the great interest in Paul's dangerous journey to Jerusalem and the fear lest they should not see him again.[66]

From Troas Paul went by land across a hilly peninsula to Assos while Luke and the delegates went around by boat.[67] Picking up Paul at Assos they came to the beauti-

[61] Acts xx. 3.

[62] There is nothing in Paul's letters about these delegates, and, strangely, Luke gives no reason either, for Paul's journey to Jerusalem, or for those who go with him, except the desire to attend the feast (verse 16). See, however, Acts xxiv. 17.

[63] Acts xx. 6. See ch. XI., p. 112, for an account of their earlier journey from Troas to Philippi.

[64] Acts xx. 4, 5.

[65] Acts xx. 7-12. Luke says the young man was "taken up dead." Does he mean to imply that Paul raised him from the dead? Here we seem to see a strange event in the process of being turned into a miracle by the reporter.

[66] Since that was the feeling of those whom he met at Miletus probably it was here too. See p. 214.

[67] See map. All this coast was famous in the early literary history of Greece—from the seventh to fourth century, B.C. Lesbos was the home of the poet Sappho, Chios was said to be the home of Homer, at least a school of Homeric poets flourished.

ful harbour of Mitylene on the island of Lesbos. Passing along the coast between the island of Chios and the mainland, they touched at Samos and Miletus.[68] From here Paul sent a messenger to Ephesus to ask the elders[69] to come to see him. That he did not go to them instead, probably indicates that it would have been still dangerous for him to be seen there, for he certainly could have gone to Ephesus without staying. When the Ephesian brethren came—perhaps Aquila, Priscilla, Gaius, etc.,—Paul reminded them of his ministry in the midst of afflictions in Ephesus, and told them that he knew that he was now risking his life to accomplish his purpose in Jerusalem, and that they would see his face no more. Then he "kneeled down and prayed with them all," and they expressed to him their love and sorrow, coming with him to the ship.[70]

Passing Cos and Rhodes[70a] they landed at Patara, where they fortunately found a freight boat sailing for Phœnicia

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there. Samos was the home of the Greek philosopher Pythagoras and of a school of sculptors. Thales, the father of Greek philosophy and science, lived at Miletus and also Anaximander who constructed the first map, and Hecataeus, who wrote the first geography. In Paul's day this coast was rich and prosperous, but famous chiefly for its past.

[68] Ramsay says that the places named mark the stops that the ship made each night, because the wind in the Ægean in the summer blows from the north all day, and from the south all night. This would mean that it took four days to Miletus. From here Ramsay reckons it would take three days to get a messenger to Ephesus, and for the elders to travel back. "St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen," p. 293 ff.

[69] "Elders" were not necessarily officials, but simply the older members.

[70] Acts xx. 18-38. The use of "we" shows that Luke was present on this occasion, hence his report is of special interest. Note that it is here in verse 35 that a saying of Jesus, not otherwise known, is quoted.

[70a] Cos was famous as the home of Hippocrates, the "Father of Medicine," and Rhodes had produced good men in many branches of culture. Both islands were rising to the height of their commercial power in Paul's day.

and took it. After possibly a call at Myra[71] and sighting Cyprus on the left they came to Tyre, and remained a week while the ship unloaded. Paul and his companions decided to hunt up "the disciples" in Tyre. One wonders where they looked and how they found them. At any rate, as soon as they were found they showed great interest in the travellers, although they may not have known any of them personally. But they certainly would have heard of Paul and they thought he was undertaking so dangerous an enterprise that they scarcely thought he would even reach Jerusalem. But, having spent a week at Tyre, they said farewell to the families of the Tyrian disciples[72] and went on to Ptolemais, and after saluting "the brethren" there, and spending a day, on to Cæsarea, where they found many friends. They went to the house of Philip who had been a disciple of Jesus, whose four daughters "did prophesy." One wonders how they exercised their gift of prophecy. Probably they spoke in the meetings for worship. Agabus, a prophet who had come from Judæa, warned Paul in the symbolical fashion of the Old Testament prophets that he would be bound hand and foot in Jerusalem. Paul's friends besought him not to go to Jerusalem, but Paul's resolve could not be broken and he replied,

"What do ye, weeping and breaking my heart? For I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem."[73]

With the company of some of the brethren they set out over land toward Jerusalem, stopping overnight at some village on the way at the home of an early

[71] Acts xxi. 1-3. Some MSS. add "and Myra" to the list of places.

[72] Acts xxi. 4-8. Ptolemais is the Old Testament Accho and the present Acre. Cæsarea was a comparatively new city built by Herod the Great, but was rapidly becoming the most important city in Palestine.

[73] Acts xxi. 8-14.

disciple, Mnason of Cyprus.[74] Hospitality certainly flourished among these early fellowships.

Arrived in Jerusalem, Paul and his company of delegates were received by James and "the elders," and doubtless the gift from the Gentile churches was presented, though Luke reports nothing about it. Once more[75] Paul rehearses to the Jerusalem "Pillars" what God has wrought among the Gentiles. When he stood among the "Pillars" before it was for the liberty of the Gentiles from the Jewish Law; now he comes to show that this liberty has produced love among the Gentiles toward the Jews and that he himself still honours his own people and their Law. However, difficulty arises at once because thousands of Christians in Jerusalem who keep the Law misunderstand Paul to have no respect whatsoever for the Law.[76] The "Pillars," therefore, propose a plan for making known that Paul is not an enemy of the Law. They propose that he shall pay the charges necessary for the fulfilling of the Nazarite vow for four poor men. This involves taking part in the purification rites in the temple with them for seven days. Paul accepts the advice of the "Pillars" since he is there for the purpose of conciliation.[77] But the plan failed of its purpose, for certain "Jews from Asia," probably some of his Ephesian enemies, seeing him in the temple, suppose he has taken Trophimus, the delegate from Ephesus, into the part of the temple

[74] Acts xxi. 15, 16. Verse 16 probably should read "bringing us to one Mnason." Some MSS. read, the disciples "conducted us where we should find entertainment; and, reaching a certain village, we were in the house of Mnason, an early disciple; and going out from thence we came to Jerusalem."

[75] Gal. ii. 1 ff. See ch. IX.

[76] The narrative says that they thought that Paul taught the Jews among the Gentiles not to keep the Law. This charge was false. Paul left Jews free to keep the Law if they wished. The only exception of which we know is that he insisted on their laying aside their rules about not eating with Gentiles. See ch. X.

[77] Acts. xxi. His action is not inconsistent with his position in Galatians. See Gal. vi. 15.

forbidden to Gentiles, and calling out, "Men of Israel, help!" rush upon him and rudely drag him out of the temple, while others shut the great doors.

They are about to kill him when the Roman soldiers stationed in the Tower of Antonia, rushing across the court-yard, come to his rescue by arresting him. Lysias, the chief captain, thinks he has captured an "Egyptian" who had recently stirred up a Messianic revolution at the head of a band of "Assassins," and he is astonished to hear Paul speak Greek when asking if he may speak to the people from the castle steps.[78] Obtaining permission, Paul "beckoned with his hand," and "when there was a great silence" he told in Aramaic of his early Jewish training, his conversion, and call to preach to the "Gentiles."[79] The Jewish mob listened until he uttered the word "Gentiles," then their hatred burst forth again, and the chief captain bore Paul into off the castle, and ordered him to be "examined by scourging." The scourgers, however, abandoned their task when they saw the consternation of the centurion as Paul asked if it were lawful to scourge a Roman who was uncondemned. The soldier reported at once to Lysias, who was astonished, but compelled to believe Paul when he declared,

"I am a Roman born."[80]

Henceforth Paul must be treated with respect, but how could Lysias deal fairly unless he understood the

[78] Acts xxi. 27-38. Josephus speaks of this Egyptian in his "Wars," II., xiii. 8, and "Ant.," XX., viii. 6. Herod the Great had rebuilt the Tower of Antonia making it a great fortification. From it the soldiers could watch doings in the temple.

[79] Acts xxi. 38-xxii. 21. The "we" narrative breaks off at xxi. 18, therefore it is not certain whether Luke was present at the time of this speech, and if he were he could not understand Aramaic. However, he could easily learn from Paul or others the general outline of his speech and what forced him to stop speaking.

[80] Acts xxii. 22-29. Lysias could not have understood a word of Paul's Aramaic speech on the castle stairs. He knows nothing about his prisoner, therefore, or the cause of the disturbance.

charge against him? To attempt to get light on the situation he assembled the Jewish Sanhedrin the next day. It was a stormy scene, Paul himself speaking angry words to the High Priest, and the Pharisees and Sadducees debating bitterly on the resurrection. Feeling ran so high that Lysias was compelled to take Paul away from this august assembly lest they tear him in pieces.[81]

Paul seems to have had only one friend in Jerusalem who could help him. His sister's son made his way into the castle and warned Paul of a plot by forty Jews to kill him before they should again eat or drink. Paul sent the boy to Lysias who "took him by the hand" and led him to a private place to hear his story. This determined Lysias to send Paul under strong guard, by night, to Cæsarea and a letter to Felix, the governor, stating that he knew of no reason why Paul should be in the bonds.[82]

Arrived in Cæsarea, Paul was again compelled to face his enemies, who came with Tertullus, an orator, to attempt to get him away from Roman protection. They charged him with being a "mover of insurrections," and Felix told Paul to defend himself against the charge. This he did by reviewing his life up to the time—"twelve days ago"—when he came to "bring alms"[83] to his nation, not to stir up revolution. Felix saw that Paul was innocent, but he was too weak to act contrary to the Jews. He, therefore, told them that he would postpone the matter until Lysias should come down. But Lysias never came and this proved to be the beginning of a long imprisonment.[84]

[81] Acts xxiii. 1-10. As none of Paul's friends were present at this time, it is not certain how the report reaches us.

[82] Acts xxiii. 12-35. This is all we know of Paul's sister's family in Jerusalem. See ch. II., p. 27.

[83] Acts xxiv. 11. This is the only place where Luke speaks of Paul's gift to Jerusalem.

[84] Acts xxiv. 1-22. The foundations of old Roman buildings can still be seen at Cæsarea, down close to the sea. Perhaps Paul's prison was here.

Felix and his Jewish wife Drusilla, were interested enough in their prisoner to ask him to speak before them. They both were unprincipled characters,[85] and when Paul used the opportunity to speak to them of "righteousness and self-control and judgment" they were terrified and heard him no more except when Felix was prompted by the hope of obtaining a bribe. Paul's imprisonment probably left him free to receive any friends who cared to come, but unfortunately we have no record of the efforts which must have been made at least by Philip and his daughter in Cæsarea to encourage him, nor of the opportunities which he may have found to make known his Gospel even in such unhappy circumstances.[86]

Thus ended Paul's hope of winning his own people to Christ and of bringing about fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians. In Jerusalem he had, indeed, put himself "under bondage to all" that he "might gain the more." "To the Jews" he had "become as a Jew" though he was not himself "under the law," hoping that he might "by all means save some."[87] But how terribly disappointing the result of his mission to his people must have been we can form some idea by remembering with what high hopes he had made the collection for the Saints in Jerusalem[88] and the hope of

[85] Jos. "Ant.," XX. 8, and Tac. "Annals," XII. 54, speak of the base character of Felix and Drusilla. She had deserted her husband to live with Felix. The group of MSS. known as the "Western Text" says that it was to satisfy Drusilla's curiosity that Felix kept Paul in prison.

[86] Acts xxiv. 23-26. It would be interesting to know how Paul was supplied with money during these years, when he could not work at tent-making. How did he pay for the men who had taken the Nazarite vow in Jerusalem? Why did Felix think that he might obtain a bribe from him? Ramsay thinks that Paul had probably received some money from his father's estate by this time, but there is no evidence on this point.

[87] 1 Cor. ix. 19-23. The passage evidently indicates that this was the principle upon which Paul acted throughout his ministry not one that was adopted in Jerusalem. He did not wish a non-essential like the Law to shut people out from the Gospel.

[88] See pp. 139, 200.

the salvation of his people expressed in Romans.[89] Now he knew that, like his Master, he and his Gospel had been rejected by the city[90] he had loved from boyhood.

Since we have no reference to this period of imprisonment in any of Paul's letters, we cannot know how he reasoned within his spirit concerning the fact that God had led him to Jerusalem and that his mission had, nevertheless, apparently failed, but we know that Paul's spirit was not the kind that takes its chief evidence from outer circumstances. He could be "sorrowful yet always rejoicing,"[91] because he knew that his Gospel would triumph even if not in the way or time he had hoped. One reason that his courage did not fail in times of persecution was that he was conscious of the presence and help of God. Luke says that,

"The Lord stood by him and said, Be of good cheer."[92]

No doubt Paul realized now the strengthening of God such as he knew on another occasion when God said to him,[93]

"My grace is sufficient for thee."

[89] See p. 211.

[90] What the attitude of James and the other "Pillars" was during Paul's arrest and trial we have no evidence.

[91] 2 Cor. vi. 10.

[92] Acts xxiii. 11. Luke says that it was on the night of the trial by the Sanhedrin that the Lord stood by Paul, but no doubt his statement represents Paul's consciousness of God's presence through all these trying experiences. Luke also says that Paul now had assurance that he should testify in Rome. Did Paul make up his mind as early as this to appeal to Rome if he could reach there no other way? If he did, it seems strange that he waited two years to appeal, unless during that time he still hoped to be released and go to Rome as a free man.

[93] 2 Cor. xii. 9.

CHAPTER XIX

PAUL "MORE THAN CONQUEROR" AT ROME.

AFTER two years the miserable misrule of Felix resulted in an uprising in Cæsarea[1] which brought about his recall by the Roman authorities, and the installation of Festus as Procurator. Three days after arriving he went to Jerusalem and was urged by the Jews to bring Paul there. But Festus replied that Paul could be tried only at Cæsarea and that all charges must be brought against him there. Immediately upon returning to take the administration of the affairs of his new office he sat upon his judgment seat in the basilica of justice[2] and called Paul before him. The Jews, also, were there with their "many and grievous charges."

[1] Jos. "Ant." XX., viii. 9. The date of the recall of Felix is uncertain. We know from the above passage in Josephus that after his recall he was saved from death at the hands of Nero by the intervention of his brother, Pallas. But this favourite of Nero's fell from favour in the year 55 A.D., as Tacitus, "Annals," XIII. 23 states. If there were no other data, we could be quite sure, therefore, that Felix was recalled by the year 55 A.D. But unfortunately there is another passage which makes it possible that Pallas was restored to favour again, in which case he might have helped Felix later. This is in Tacitus' "Annals," XIII. 23, which tells of the trial of Pallas by another scoundrel, Paetus, who managed to prove him innocent. Tacitus remarks, "But the proved innocence of Pallas did not please men so much as his arrogance offended them." Does this mean that Pallas was restored to the favour of Nero or not? The uncertainty of the answer to this question makes it impossible to secure a fixed date here.

[2] It is interesting to see the ruins of these Roman basilicas, which are scattered over the old Roman Empire. They are rectangular buildings with a double row of colonnades, and open to the air all round except the end, with a platform for the

Although an honourable man, Festus seems to have wished to conciliate the Jews and said to Paul,

"Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem and there be judged of these things before me?"

This, Paul knew, would be only to court violent death, and the vacillating weakness of Festus, together with his long postponed purpose of going to Rome, determined him to use the power of appeal which his Roman citizenship gave him and he replied,

"I appeal unto Cæsar."

Although probably astonished at this turn in affairs, Festus could only reply,

"Thou hast appealed unto Cæsar; unto Cæsar thou shalt go."[3]

No Roman official had the right to deny the appeal to Cæsar and Paul had probably made up his mind to see Rome in this way if there seemed little hope of his going as a free man.

While preparations were being made to send Paul to Rome it happened that King Agrippa of Judæa came to visit the new Procurator. Hearing of Paul's case, he expressed a desire to hear him, and Festus determined to grant his request, hoping thus to get more light concerning the statement of the case which he should make to Nero the Emperor.[4]

It was in no sense an official trial which was held "on the morrow," for Paul could now be tried only at the court of Cæsar. Nevertheless it seems to have been "with great pomp" and ceremony that the affair was conducted for the honour of Agrippa, who seems to have been invited to preside. Permitted to speak, Paul took the opportunity to make an impassioned defence of his Gospel, showing that it originated in a "heavenly vision" to which being obedient, he was changed from

judgment seat. Sometimes there is a roof over the whole, and sometimes only over the judgment seat and around the colonnade. Some early churches were built on this plan.

[3] Acts xxv. 1-12.

[4] Acts xxv. 13-22.

a bigoted Pharisee to a Christian Apostle. So stirred was Festus that he cried out,

" Paul, thou art mad; thy much learning doth turn thee to madness."

To this Paul replied:

" I am not mad, most excellent Festus; but speak words of truth and soberness."

When Paul attempted to get Agrippa to express himself favourably toward the Gospel, Agrippa said,

" With but little persuasion thou wouldst fain make me a Christian."[5]

To this Paul replied,

" I would to God, that whether with little or with much, not thou only, but also all that hear me this day might become such as I am, except these bonds."

The whole scene is depicted in a masterly way by Luke, who brings it to a close by the statement of Agrippa that Paul might have been set at liberty if he had not appealed to Cæsar[6]. Luke then immediately begins the account of the journey to Rome using the pronoun " we." When did Luke arrive in Cæsarea? Could he possibly have been there when Agrippa came? Could he have been allowed to accompany Paul to the interview and thus have heard his speech?[7] At any rate, he proceeds at once to relate that Paul and other prisoners were put into the care of Julius, a centurion of the Augustan band[8] and that,

[5] Note that Acts xxvi. 28 is wrongly translated in the Authorized Version, to mean that Agrippa was almost persuaded to become a Christian. However, the context still implies that Agrippa was deeply impressed by Paul.

[6] Acts xxv. 13-xxvi. 32.; Acts xxvii. 1.

[7] The chief objection to this supposition is that Luke would have used the " we " early if he had arrived earlier. However, the whole narrative is told from the point of view of Festus and Agrippa, rather than of Paul, and ch. xxv. 23, is the only place that " we " might possibly have been used if Luke were present.

[8] Exactly what is meant by one of the " Augustan band " is uncertain. Ramsay, following Mommsen, thinks that Julius was one of the people sent out to perform various sorts of services

"*We* put to sea, Aristarchus[9], a Macedonian of Thessalonica being with *us*."[10]

The account of the voyage is graphically told. A ship from Adramyttium on the coast of Mysia in Asia Minor was taken, although it could take them only part way. On the first day the ship touched at Sidon, and here Paul was allowed to go and see friends. Probably they were brethren who had visited him in Cæsarea. With what tender care they would now "refresh"[11] him as he went to face other trials and prisons! Sailing north to find shelter behind Cyprus from the strong winds, passing almost in sight of Tarsus, they came to Myra.[12] There the centurion found an Alexandrian ship bound for Rome carrying grain, and took passage for his prisoners. With difficulty the ship made its way along between Rhodes and Cnidus and down along the southern coast of Crete to Fair Havens[13]

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for the Emperor, especially to attend to food supplies for the Empire. Such officers might easily conduct prisoners. Or he may have been one of the soldiers kept for the court service of the Emperor.

[9] Exactly in what capacity Luke and Aristarchus went along we do not know. Luke possibly went as attending physician (Col. iv. 14), though we have no evidence of Paul's illness at this time. Aristarchus had been in Ephesus with Paul (Acts xix. 29), and had journeyed to Jerusalem with him (Acts xx. 4). Perhaps he passed as Paul's slave. In Col. iv. 10 Paul calls him his "fellow-prisoner."

[10] Acts xxvii. 1-2. Note that no further information is given concerning the charge which Festus stated to Cæsar as Paul's crime.

[11] Acts xxvii. 3.

[12] Acts xxvii. 4, 5. The "Western Text" adds that it took fifteen days to reach Myra. This whole account shows what the travelling conditions on the sea were in those days of sailing vessels.

[13] Acts xxvii. 6-8. There were no international shipping arrangements in those days by which one could book passages through. See Acts xxvii. 38. "Wheat." Egypt supplied the grain to Rome. Perhaps this ship had sailed to Myra first, hoping to get a smoother passage than directly across the sea.

where the ship, for some unknown reason, stayed a long time.

It was late in the autumn, as the mention of the Day of Atonement "Feast" shows. Shipping had to cease during the winter in those days and Paul advised the master of the ship to spend the winter where they were. A council was held in which the majority voted against Paul's advice and in favour of trying to reach Phœnix because it was a better harbour.[14] When one day the "south wind blew softly" they started to creep along the coast to Phœnix, but soon the tempestuous north wind caught them and carried them to the little island of Cauda. Here they girded up the ship with ropes and chains to make it more able to stand the heavy sea and then, arranging their "gear" so that they would not be driven upon the sands of Syrtis on the African coast they faced the gale. Soon they were compelled to throw part of their cargo overboard and then the ship's furniture.[15]

When the storm had lasted for days and utter despair had settled upon passengers and crew, Paul's strength of spirit manifested itself in the words of cheer he spoke[16] and in the management of affairs which he took upon himself. When the sailors, by sounding, decided they were nearing a shore and attempted to flee in a little boat, Paul warned the soldiers, who cut the ropes of the already lowered boat just in time to keep the sailors aboard. Going about with encouraging words, Paul succeeded in getting people to take food. "In the presence of all he gave thanks to God"

[14] Acts xxvii. 9-12. The account of this council is most interesting. How many people were present?

[15] Acts xxvii. 13-19. The text is somewhat uncertain, but perhaps they also took on board at Cauda a little boat they had been towing. (R.V. reads Cauda instead of Clauda.)

[16] Luke says that Paul had a prophetic vision by which he knew the fate of the ship and the safety of the people. Again we must remember the predilection for visions which marks the whole of Luke's book, but the account certainly shows that Paul did introduce good cheer and hope into the ship.

and they rose up with good cheer, and threw out the "wheat" to further lighten the ship. With what longing they all "wished for the day!" When at last light dawned they beheld a land that they knew not but determined to try to reach. They were caught, however, by a current "where two seas met" and driven upon the beach. The centurion told all to save themselves the best way they could. Upon planks and articles from the ship they all succeeded in getting themselves through the rough water to the shore.[17]

It was the island of Melita, as they soon discovered, upon which they had been cast, and the inhabitants built a fire and treated them with kindness, because of the rain and cold. When Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks and laid them on the fire, a viper came out and "fastened on his hand." He shook it off into the fire, and the superstitious natives expected to see him suddenly die, thinking he must be a murderer whom the gods were avenging. But when nothing happened they decided to he must be a god.[18]

The Roman Governor of the island was Publius, who, hearing of the shipwreck, invited at least part of the company to his house and entertained them for three days. Paul was among the number who went and was able to help the sick father of Publius as well as others in the island. Publius seems to have remained friendly during the three months they were on the island, and when, finding another Alexandrian ship named *The Twin Brothers* bound for Rome, the centurion took his prisoners on board, Publius supplied

[17] Acts xxvii. 20-44. For more detailed study of the voyage see Ramsay's "St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen," ch. XIV., also Smith's "Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul."

[18] Acts xxviii. 1-6. Although the people of Malta (Melita) were "barbarians," that is, not Greeks, they were not savages. They were probably a branch of the Phœnician race and their early remains are somewhat like those of Stonehenge in England. In Paul's day considerable Roman civilization had been introduced.

their needs for the voyage.[19] Arriving at Syracuse, a centre of ancient Greek civilization and the chief city in Sicily, they remained three days and thence went on to Rhegium. Passing through the narrow strait of Messina, with a good south wind at their back, it could not have been late in the day when they came in sight of the splendid headlands that form the gateway to the Bay of Naples, and once inside the harbour a few hours would bring them to the quay of Puteoli.[20] This ancient port still bears some traces of the days when the Emperor Nero and rich Romans came there for pleasure. To the west of Puteoli the coast was lined with marble palaces and theatres, and temples were no doubt plentiful.[21] But here also was a group of Christians, for Paul and his companions "found brethren,"[22] and were allowed by the centurion[23] to remain with them a week. Fellowship with brethren must have been most grateful to Paul and his friends after their difficult winter.

Leaving Puteoli the party set out upon the Appian

[19] Acts xxviii. 7-11. One wonders if Luke the Physician did not also help some of the sick.

[20] Acts xxviii. 12, 13. Ostia was nearer Rome but difficult to keep open, because of the sediment carried down by the Tiber. So Puteoli was the harbour of Rome, as Naples is to-day. Until a few years ago parts of the ancient quay at which Paul's ship may have drawn up were to be seen. But one cannot be sure that the coast-line to the west of Puteoli, now called Pozzuoli is the same as in Paul's day, for in the middle ages volcanic action heaved up a mountain in a night, and probably changed the coast considerably.

[21] There are now the ruins of a great amphitheatre in Pozzuoli. There is also part of a temple of Augustus and a temple to Serapis. This last has been lowered by volcanic action into the sea, and raised again, but its columns still stand in sea-water.

[22] Acts xxviii. 14. It is interesting that there should have been Christians in Puteoli, especially as the extensive excavation of Pompeii to the east has as yet turned up no evidence of Christians there.

[23] The whole account seems to indicate that Julius had grown to have great respect for his prisoner. He may have taken considerable trouble to make it possible for Paul to stay in Puteoli for a week.

Way, called "the queen of long roads."[24] This took them up through Capua and then down to the coast through a marshy region to the Market of Appius, which Luke mentions because their hearts were rejoiced by the coming of "brethren" from Rome. How had the brethren at Rome learned that Paul was on the way? A brother from Puteoli must have set out for Rome as soon as Paul arrived, in order for the brethren to travel back on the Appian Way forty-three miles to the Market of Appius. Or perhaps the brethren of Puteoli sent a letter by messenger. At any rate, both at the Market of Appius and the Three Taverns brethren appeared.

"Whom when Paul saw he thanked God and took courage."[25]

On the Appian Way the travellers passed many beautiful tombs, the ruins of some of which can still be seen.[26] On this road one can in some places walk over the old pavement belonging to the days when Paul journeyed to Rome. One can imagine these ruined tombs, temples and villas standing in all their magnificence. And over to the right one can see some of the arches of the Claudian aqueduct that in Paul's day carried water from the Alban hills to Rome, also part of a yet older aqueduct still performing its gracious service.[27] What were Paul's thoughts as he travelled in chains along the Appian Way into the capitol city which he had for so "many years"[28] desired to see?

[24] A little of the Appian Way can still be seen at Puteoli.

[25] Acts xviii. 15. The exact site of the Three Taverns is uncertain.

[26] It was the Roman custom to bury outside the city, often along the public ways. Other roads around Rome were used as burial places, but on the Appian way were many of the finest tombs. In Pompeii the beginning of a street of tombs has been excavated.

[27] The Aqueduct of Claudius was completed in 52 A.D. The Aqueduct of Marcia, dating from 146 B.C., still brings water from the Sabine hills to the fountain in the "Piazza delle Terme," near the station.

[28] Romans xv. 23.

Entering the city[29] by whatever route he was taken he could not fail to see the Palatine Hill with its temples and palaces of the Cæsars, and possibly he would pass through the old Roman Forum on his way to the Prætorian Guard[30] of Nero. But Nero's chief business in life was enjoyment, and prisoners must wait his pleasure. For two years Paul waited for his trial but fortunately was given the freedom accorded to Roman citizens, and allowed to live in his own hired house guarded by a Roman soldier.[31] Here Paul preached his gospel, receiving the Jews, who took some interest in him at first, but soon abandoned him, and many others who found this prisoner of vital interest to them.

Fortunately we have some of Paul's letters written during his imprisonment in Rome which bring us once more in direct touch with Paul's own spirit and introduce us to some of his friends. One of these friends was Onesimus whom Paul calls

"My child, whom I have begotten in my bonds."[32]

Onesimus was a slave belonging to Philemon, a Christian of Colossæ.[33] In this household Onesimus had, no doubt, often heard of Paul and perhaps even attended some of the meetings of Christian brethren held there.[34] Then some temptation came to him, and he ran away,

[29] The present gate by which one enters the city from the Appian Way was not standing in Paul's day. He would have entered by the "Porta Capaena," built into the old Servian wall.

[30] Phil. i. 13. The word which Paul uses is "Prætorium," which might possibly mean the judgment hall, but more likely refers to the camp of the Prætorian soldiers. See p. 237.

[31] Acts xxviii. 16, 30. Tacitus' "Annals," VI. 3, gives another instance: "So Junius Gallio, brother of Seneca, was kept under guard in the house of a magistrate." See chap. XV., pp. 157, 158. Gallio seems to have met imprisonment, and, later, death at the hands of Nero, as Paul did.

[32] Philemon 10. The name Onesimus means Helpful or Profitable, and was a common name for a slave.

[33] Philemon 16.

[34] Philemon 2.

possibly even stealing some of his master's money.[35] In Rome he heard that his master's friend, Paul, was in prison, and went to see him, and through Paul's friendship became himself one of the brethren. Paul seems to have given unstinted love to Onesimus, calling him

"My very heart, whom I would fain have kept with me."[36]

Nevertheless he feels that it is right for Onesimus to go back to his master to prove himself "profitable" now that he is not only a slave, but a brother. He, therefore, writes the letter addressed to Philemon and his wife Apphia and Archippus, probably their son,[37] expressing his "joy and comfort" in the love of Philemon through whom "the hearts of the saints have been refreshed," and beseeching him to receive Onesimus not simply as a returned servant but as a "brother beloved."[38]

Paul bespeaks for Onesimus the fellowship which Philemon feels for himself.

"If, then, thou countest me a partner, receive him as myself."

Indeed, Paul promises to pay whatever amount Philemon chooses to charge Onesimus for the loss he has incurred through him, and calls his attention to the fact that he is writing with his own hand and can be held legally responsible for the debt. However, he

[35] Philemon 11, 18, 19. Some think that Onesimus would hardly have gone so far as Rome, and, therefore, think that this letter was written when Paul was in prison in Ephesus. See ch. XVI., p. 171. But it was easy to travel to Rome since it was the centre of the Empire and was a good place for runaways to hide in.

[36] Philemon 12.

[37] Archippus is referred to again in Col. iv. 17, as one with a gift of ministry. In Philemon 2 Paul calls him "our fellow-soldier." Perhaps he was the young son of Philemon and Apphia who was becoming helpful in the meetings of the brotherhood at Colossæ.

[38] Philemon 1-16. Note the play on the name Onesimus; now he can be truly profitable.

suggests, without urging it, that Philemon can afford to forgive this debt at Paul's request since he owes to him his " own self." Paul pleads for his friend Onesimus as though he were pleading for himself:

" Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord; refresh my heart in Christ."[39]

No wonder that Paul's gospel flourished in prison and out, if it produced brotherhood like this! The Golden Rule needed no further exposition for the simplest mind.[40] The oneness in Christ needed no philosophical explanation when it was thus manifest in actual facts. To how many others of whom we have no record did Paul thus manifest his Christ-like brotherhood? So sure is Paul that he can depend on the brotherhood of Philemon that he requests, further, that he will prepare a lodging for him as he hopes he may soon be set free.[41]

This letter and Onesimus himself Paul sends to Colossæ in the care of Tychicus who takes also a letter to the Colossæ church.[42] There is with him at the time another Colossian, Epaphras, who was deeply interested in the inner life of the church there,[43] and who tells Paul of the faith and love which is daily increasing in the Colossian community[44] and also, perhaps, of certain dangerous tendencies. That there are certain teachers who may " delude " " with persuasiveness of speech " is shown by the warning against their " philosophy."[45]

[39] Philemon 17-20. When Philemon met Paul and became a brother through him, we do not know. Perhaps it was while he was at Ephesus that Philemon came and made his acquaintance.

[40] Paul never quotes the Golden Rule, but certainly acts upon it. On Paul's attitude toward slavery see ch. XVI., p. 179.

[41] Philemon 21, 22. It is interesting that Paul should think of going to Colossæ upon his release, though he had never been there before.

[42] Col. i. 7 and iv. 7-9.

[43] Col. iv. 12, 13; Philemon 23.

[44] Col. 3. 8.

[45] Col. ii. 4, 8. The exact nature of this dangerous teaching in Colossæ is uncertain. It seems to have emphasized

But Paul does not definitely attack this false philosophy in his letter to the Colossians, instead, he points out the sufficiency of the Gospel. Those who wish wisdom and knowledge certainly may find it in,

"Christ, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden."[46]

Those who are interested in the ranks of principalities and powers should know that the power and glory of a kingdom belong to Christ.[47] He is the first of all created powers, indeed,

"In him were all things created . . . and in him all things consist . . . who is the image of the invisible God. . . . In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily . . . who is the head of all principality and power."[48]

It is the gospel of such a transcendent one of which Paul is made a minister. There is no reason why any should be led astray to the "worshipping of angels,"[49] since Christ is supreme over all, "seated on the right hand of God."[50]

"knowledge," wisdom and mysteries. and to have been interested in principalities and powers, for these are referred to by Paul.

[46] Col. i. 9, 10, and ii. 3.

[47] Col. i. 11-14.

[48] Col. i. 15-23 and ii. 9, 10. The word "image" means actually representation of God, but it does not imply complete representation, that is, does not imply equality with God. Paul uses the same word of the relation of Christians to Christ. See 1 Cor. xv. 49; Rom. viii. 29; 2 Cor. iii. 18, and Col. iii. 10. Neither does the "fulness of the Godhead" mean that Christ is in all respects like God, but, rather, that he partakes of the essential substance of God. Fulness was a common philosophical word of the time indicating essential nature. Also the Greek word used here for Godhead means *of the divine nature* rather than possessing *all* the divine qualities.

[49] Col. ii. 18.

[50] Col. iii. 1.

This philosophy of Paul's[51] comes out of his original conception of Jesus as a triumphant spirit, but he had earlier refused to preach philosophy. Now the special conditions in Colossæ and perhaps the comparatively quiet life that he is compelled to live in Rome cause him to state more fully his conception of the relationship of Christ to God and to the world. Evidently it was not necessary to accept Paul's philosophy in order to accept Paul's Gospel, since he emphasized it so little during his active ministry. The supremacy of the Spirit of Christ in the life and its unity with the Spirit of God was, indeed, the heart of Paul's Gospel from the first, but this is not necessarily bound up with an idea of Christ as Creator of the world nor with a definition of his exact relationship with his Father. To persuade people to live in the Spirit of Christ, which was self-evidently the Divine Spirit, was the essence of Paul's ministry, and was justified by its results in character. But upon the philosophy or theology underlying this practical spiritual life Paul laid comparatively little emphasis. Since true spiritual life was the essence of Paul's Gospel, both slave and philosopher could live the Gospel life.

The false teachers of Colossæ probably also offered a "mystery" for Paul lays much emphasis upon the mystery of which he was made minister, and defines it more fully than he has elsewhere in these words,

"God was pleased to make known what is the riches of the glory of this *mystery* among the Gentiles *which is Christ in you,* the hope of glory."

This is the inner power which God in His plans for the ages has, at last, been able to make known to the saints,

[51] As a matter of fact we have here the philosophy of the Logos or Word, which we find further developed in the prologue of the Gospel of John. Philo of Alexandria had introduced this Greek type of thought to Jewish thinkers. Philo calls the Logos the "Image" of God (de Mund, Op. 8, etc.), and the First-born (de Cherub, 16, etc.), and says that through the Logos God created the world (Leg. Allegor. 31, etc.).

a power which is able to present "every man perfect in Christ,"[52] that is, to produce true spiritual life.

Those who have been buried with Christ and raised with him ought to give no heed to teachers who demand such outward rites as circumcision, who lay down fixed rules about food and drink, and teach that holiness is promoted by "severity to the body,"[53] for those who know the mystery of Christ naturally "seek the things that are above," for their true "life is hid with Christ in God."[54] Those who have this life of Christ within, that is, those who possess,

"A heart of compassion, kindness, humility, meekness, long-suffering . . . love,"

will not need ceremonies and rules to rid themselves of "passion, evil desire and covetousness," for they have "put off the old man with his doings" and have the impulses of "the new man."[55]

"Let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts." "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom."

It is to this rich inner life that Paul looks for the right arrangements of all social relationships,[56] indeed, of every phrase of the development of life. This is the "mystery of Christ" which has been the centre of all of Paul's ministry, and for which he considers that he is now in bondage. He is longing for a greater opportunity while in bonds in the great Roman capitol to make known this mystery. When most people would have considered the circumstances too difficult to hope to accomplish anything, Paul is asking the Colossians to keep,

[52] Col. i. 24-29. Compare Eph. iii. 1-8.

[53] Col. ii. 11-23. This emphasis on circumcision makes it probable that these false teachers of Colossæ were Jews. The emphasis on asceticism makes it possible that they were the Jewish Essenes for a description of whom, see Josephus "Wars," II., 8.

[54] Col. iii. 1-4.

[55] Col. iii. 5-14.

[56] Col. iii. 15-iv. 1.

"Praying for us . . . that God may open unto us a door for the word, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds."[57]

Closely related to the Colossian letter in thought and feeling is the so-called letter to the Ephesians. It seems impossible to believe that it was written to Paul's friends at Ephesus because he seems to be writing to people of whom he has only heard.[58] Tychicus seems to be the bearer of this letter as well as the one to Colossæ. Could this be a letter carried by Tychicus to some city near Colossæ that Paul did not know personally? This possibility is strengthened by Paul's statement in the Colossian letter that Epaphras had laboured much for "them in Laodicea, and for them in Hierapolis."[59] These two cities are close neighbours of Colossæ and Paul certainly sent a letter to Laodicea, for he tells the Colossians to exchange letters with the Laodiceans.[60] It seems probable, then, that Tychicus took a letter which the Laodiceans were to read and send to Colossæ.[61] Paul seems to know

[57] Col. iv. 2-6.

[58] Eph. i. 15, and iii. 2-4.

[59] That it was not written especially to the Ephesians is also made probable by the fact that the words "at Ephesus," in Eph. i. 1, do not occur in many of the oldest manuscripts. See R.V. margin. Col. iv. 13.

[60] Col. iv. 16, 17. The earliest catalogue of Paul's epistles, the Canon of Marcion, read in i. 1 of our Ephesians the words "in Laodicea." The fact, however, that some of the MSS. have no name of a place suggests the possibility that our Ephesians was a circular letter, which got the name Ephesus attached to it because it was read there as well as at other places. Perhaps an early collector of Paul's epistles found it there.

[61] Whether this was our letter of the Ephesians depends upon many intricate problems in connection with that epistle. It is a delicate and unsettled problem whether Ephesians is Pauline or not. Such delicate problems have to be faced as this: Is the definition of the mystery of Christ given in Eph. iii. 5, 6 consistent with that given in Col. i. 26, 27, and ii. 2, or not? At any rate the letter adds little beyond Colossians to the knowledge of Paul's ministry while in Rome, and may, therefore, not be further considered here. For an examination of its relation to Colossians, see Moffatt's "Introduction to the N.T."

the name of one of the community in Laodicea for he salutes " Nymphas and the church in their house."[62]

The friends who are with Paul as he sends off Tychicus and Onesimus[63] with the letters to Philemon and the Colossians, and Laodiceans, and perhaps Ephesians, are his two ship companions, Luke and Aristarchus, and Mark whom he has forgiven for his earlier desertion,[64] and Jesus Justus, Demas, Epaphras of Colossæ[65] and his old friend Timothy,[66]. No doubt this group met often in Paul's hired house, and probably some of them lived with him there.[67] They must have talked over together the prospects of the issue of Paul's trial, and the progress of the Gospel in Rome. Anxious friends from Paul's churches throughout the Empire probably joined the group for short periods, coming to bring help and encouragement to Paul. One such visitor was Epaphroditus from Philippi, whom Paul's old friends had sent that they might have " fellowship with " Paul's " affliction."[68] They sent some " things " to Paul which made him feel richly provided for, and deeply grateful.[69] They had planned, also, that Epaphroditus should stay and minister to Paul, but instead he was " sick nigh unto death " in Rome. When he finally recovered he so longed for his friends at home that Paul put aside his own desire for companionship and help, and sent Epaphroditus home with a letter to the Philippians asking them not to blame their messenger for

[62] Some MSS. read " the church in her house," which would mean that Nymphas was a woman. Others read " in this house."

[63] Col. iv. 7-9.

[64] See ch. VIII., p. 81 and chap. XI., p. 106.

[65] Col. iv. 10-14, and Philemon 23, 24. Nothing is known of Jesus Justus and Demas before this reference .

[66] Col. i. 1. ; Philemon i. 1.

[67] Aristarchus and Epaphras are referred to as fellow-prisoners, Col. iv. 10 and Philemon 23.

[68] Philippians iv. 14.

[69] Phil. iv. 10-20.

returning, because he had risked his life for the "work of Christ" even though he had not been able to fully carry out his commission.[70]

This letter sent by Epaphroditus to the Philippians lets us see not only Paul's relation to loved friends in Philippi, but his own situation in Rome. He is anxious to have his friends know that the recent events of his life, which seemed so dangerous to him and his Gospel, have actually "fallen out rather to the progress of the gospel." That Paul is a prisoner for the sake of his loyalty to Christ has become known "throughout the whole praetorian guard."[71] These praetorian soldiers perhaps took turns in watching over Paul in his hired house, and gradually many of them came to know something of him and his Gospel. But what a commentary on the earnestness and power of the man is the fact that these harsh, rugged, Roman soldiers were impressed by his Gospel! Moreover, news of Paul and his Gospel spread in "the rest"[72] of Rome, and some of Cæsar's household[73] were numbered among the brethren. The Roman church, too, was stirred by Paul's presence and "most of the brethren" became more bold in their championship of the Gospel when they

[70] Phil. ii. 25-30. Note that Epaphroditus is not merely longing for home himself, but is troubled because he has heard that his home people have heard that he is sick, and knows that they will worry about him. See verse 26.

[71] The word Praetorium was early used of the general's tent where difficulties were settled—Livy, Hist. VII., 12. Later the palace of a governor, since it contained the judgment hall, was called Praetorium, as Herod's palace in Cæsarea (Acts xxiii. 35). In Rome, however, there seems to be no example of the application of the name to the palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine. It seems in Rome to have been used, rather, of the Praetorian Guard, which was the imperial body-guard. Tacitus Hist. I. 20. Its translation in Phil. i. 13 is, however, uncertain, since so little evidence of its meaning in Rome at that time is forthcoming.

[72] Phil. i. 12, 13.

[73] Phil. iv. 22. This probably does not refer to the immediate household of Cæsar, but to the many servants connected with the palace of Nero.

saw Paul's eagerness though in " bonds," and knew that he was " set for the defence of the Gospel," unto death if need be. Others, however, tried to " raise up affliction " for Paul, perhaps thinking that a man in prison could not be a minister of Christ. But Paul shows the Christ-like spirit in disregarding their lack of love for him, and rejoicing that " Christ is proclaimed," " whether in pretence or in truth."[74]

The sharp words of warning against Jews suggest that Paul is suffering from their enmity in Rome. He reminds the Philippians that,

" We are the circumcision, who worship by the Spirit of God."[75]

As Paul himself does not have " confidence in the flesh " neither should they, but,

" Count all things to be loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus."[76]

" Even weeping," Paul warns against the " enemies of the cross," and tells the Philippians to be imitators of him in withstanding them.[77]

Nevertheless, it is with great humility that Paul points to his own attainments in Christ-likeness, for he is fully conscious that he is not " perfect." It is rather his continual pressing on, his eager " stretching forward " toward the " high calling of God in Christ Jesus," that he urges upon the " brethren." The true way of life is to walk according to the highest one has apprehended while pressing on to the ideal. Such, indeed, are " perfect "[78] if measured by their ideals.

[74] Phil. ii. 14-18.

[75] Phil. iii. 2, 3.

[76] Phil. iii. 4-9.

[77] Phil. iii. 17-19.

[78] Phil. iii. 12-16. This double use of the word perfection is found also in Mt. v. 48. See also 1 Cor. ii. 6. Since growth is the basis of life it is possible at any stage to be perfect for that stage, though absolute perfection is yet ahead.

But Paul counsels the Philippians not only to be " perfect," but humble " in lowliness of mind each counting other better than himself; not looking each . . . to his own things, but . . . also to the things of others." Those who have this quality of mind have the mind of Christ, who showed his humility by choosing to become a servant to man, when he might have " counted it a prize to be on an equality with God."[79] In appreciation of his humiliation even unto death God has highly exalted him, and those who understand the meaning of his life and death may now live as,

" Children of God . . . holding forth the word of life." To those who thus embody the mind of Christ Paul writes,

" It is God which worketh in you."[80]

Such will abound in love, and knowledge, and discernment; they will sincerely approve the things that are excellent, and all the pure and lovely things in God's world, and the peace of God will guard their hearts and " thoughts in Christ Jesus."

It is hard to remember that this ideal of life was set forth by a man in prison possibly facing death. But there are various sentences in the Philippian letter that show that Paul was conscious that he was facing a future of great uncertainty. One moment he realizes that he may be called upon to be " offered upon the service and sacrifice " of faith, the next he trusts that he will soon be free to go to his friends.[81] He can scarcely decide which

[79] Phil. ii. 1-11. It is a question here whether verse 6 implies that Jesus was on an equality with God or not. Either he was, and voluntarily gave it up, or he was in a position to have " snatched at " (the literal meaning of the verb) equality and refused to do so. The latter seems to be more in accordance with Paul's thought of Jesus as the Son of God obedient to his Father, and subject to Him. See 1 Cor. xv. 28.

[80] Phil. ii. 12-16.

[81] Compare Phil. ii. 17, 18 with ii. 24. Also Phil. i. 20 with i. 25.

would be best, life or death, if the choice were his. To "depart and be with Christ" sometimes seems "very far better," yet when he thinks of his friends it seems "more needful" "to abide in the flesh." From this it is apparent that Paul's ideal of life transforms the conception of death. Both are companionship with Christ. Death is only a new phase of life.[82] Even the suffering attending the dissolution of the body is lessened by the thought that it brings one into "the fellowship of his sufferings," and that through it one may "attain unto the resurrection." [83]

Many of Paul's friends seem to be away as he writes this letter, at least he sends greeting only from Timothy. And he is thinking of sending even him away soon.[84] Apparently, he sends his friends to visit the churches he himself longs to visit. Epaphroditus he now sends off with his letter bearing thanks and love, and injunctions for true living and rejoicing.[85] This note of rejoicing which occurs throughout the letter in spite of the sorrow and loneliness that are also apparent shows the conquering spirit of Paul as he faces his trial.

Fragments of another letter[86] possibly give us infor-

[82] Phil. i. 19-30.

[83] Phil. iii. 10, 11. Compare iii. 20, 21. Note that while Paul speaks of being with Jesus immediately after death, he still speaks, also, of the Coming of Jesus. See Phil. i. 10 ; iii. 20 and iv. 5. However, he no longer thinks of the dead as sleeping until the Coming, as he did earlier.

[84] Phil. i. 1 and ii. 19-23. Note that Paul greets the bishops and deacons of Philippi. This is the only place in the certainly authentic letters of Paul where these titles are used, and it is a question whether the titles are yet official.

[85] Phil. iii. 1 and iv. 1-6. Two women receive special injunctions to settle their differences, and a friend of Paul's is exhorted to help them.

[86] 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17. 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus do not fit into any part of Paul's life that we know. If he were released from prison (see note 92, p. 242) and went back to his churches and conducted them through a period of organization, then these letters might possibly fit into that period, though even that would not remove all the difficulties. For instance, it would

mation concerning Paul's trial. Apparently at his "first defence" all had forsaken him, but in the strength of the Lord he had proclaimed his Gospel, and had been "delivered out of the mouth of the lion." As he writes "only Luke" is with him, Demas and others have forsaken him.[87] One Ephesian friend had diligently sought him out in Rome, and is gratefully remembered because he was not ashamed of Paul's chain.[88] Though Paul is longing for companionship, he does not ask Timothy to come to him, but tells him to "suffer hardship" in the fulfilment of his ministry.[89] Of himself Paul says,

"I am already being offered and the time of my departure is come. I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith." [90]

Here, in the capital of the Roman Empire, Paul, then, laid down his life at the command of the tyrant Nero.[91]

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still be strange for Paul when writing to his old friend Timothy to defend himself as a minister as he does in 1 Tim. ii. 7, and give such elementary teaching as for instance in 1 Tim. iv. 14-16. These and many other considerations (see Moffatt's "Introduction to N.T.," McGiffert's "Apostolic Age," etc.) make it most likely that these are books written by a follower of Paul's after his death. The occurence of certain personal notes, however, make it possible that the author had some brief notes of Paul's. It is only with the greatest uncertainty that such notes can be separated from the rest of these books and fitted into Paul's life as known by his certainly authentic letters, still it is worth trying.

[87] 2 Tim. iv. 10, 11a; 2 Tim. i. 15.

[88] 2 Tim. i. 15-18. This seems to imply that Paul's place of imprisonment had been changed.

[89] 2 Tim. iv. 5.

[90] 2 Tim. iv. 6-8. Of course, in a letter that has been re-edited as much as 2 Tim. has, we cannot be quite so sure of having Paul's own words as in the undoubtedly authentic letters.

[91] All the varieties of dates that are assigned for the death of Paul put it in the reign of Nero. It is only a question of whether he was put to death before the persecution of Christians connected with the burning of Rome in 64 A.D. Nero reigned from 54-68 A.D. If Paul were beheaded as early as 62 A.D. (see Table of Dates), it was on the charge of inciting to riot with which he had been charged (Acts xxiv. 5), for Nero's whole-

The earliest traditions say that he died as a "martyr," being beheaded with the sword.[92] How little Paul's enemies dreamed that Rome was slaying a man[93] whose Gospel would yet conquer the Empire! Though

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sale persecution of Christians did not begin until 64 or 65 A.D. Any charge could bring a man to death under Nero if he wished. Tertullian says of him, "Whoever knows him can understand that nothing was condemned by Nero unless it was something of great excellence." (Eusebius, "Church Hist.," II. 25.)

[92] Clement of Rome, writing about 95 A.D., says: "Let us set before us the noble examples which belong to our generation. . . . Let us set before our eyes the good Apostles. . . . By reason of jealousy and strife Paul by his example pointed out the prize of patient endurance. After that he had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been stoned, had preached in the East and the West, he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world, and having reached the farthest bounds of the West; and when he had borne his testimony before the rulers, so he departed from the world and went into the holy place, having been found a notable example of patient endurance."

What is meant here by "the farthest bounds of the West"? It might mean Spain, to which Paul intended to go (Rom. xv. 24), but it may also have meant Rome since most of the Roman civilization was to the east of Rome. Clement is certainly not speaking in exact terms in any of the passage.

Tertullian, writing in the second century "Concerning the Proscription of Heretics," says: "Where Paul hath for his crown the same death with John (the Baptist)." This means that Tertullian thought that Paul was beheaded, and he is close enough to the facts to know them.

Origen, in the early third century (quoted by Eusebius "Church Hist.," III. 1), says: "What do we need to say concerning Paul, who preached the Gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyricum, and afterwards suffered martyrdom in Rome under Nero?"

Luke has nothing to tell about the end of Paul's life. This may be because he intended to write another book, or because the fact was too well-known to need statement. But the omission is certainly a puzzling problem. Harnack's recently published view (see "The Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels") is attractive, namely, that Luke wrote before the end of Paul's trial and intended it as a defence of Paul, hoping perhaps to save him.

At any rate, it is certain from the above references in the early church Fathers that Paul suffered martyrdom under Nero in Rome.

[93] The tradition in Rome is that Paul was beheaded outside

probably few of those hearing his trial realized the quality of man who was being condemned, Paul's own friends, and those of us who have since come to know him through his letters cannot doubt that as he now faced death he realized to the depths the words he had before written to the Romans,

" Who shall separate us from the love of Christ ? Shall tribulation, or anguish . . . or peril, or sword ? . . . Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us."

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the city at a place of execution now known as Tre Fontane, or the Three Fountains, and that he was buried by the Tiber where now the Church of St. Paul stands. In 1891 Lanciani, an Italian archæologist, climbed down under the altar and found a tomb on which was inscribed :

" Paulo Apostolomart."

He thought the writing dated from the fourth century.

Caius, a Christian of Rome in the early third century, says that Paul was buried on the Appian Way, which is the location of the present Church of St. Paul.

A Roman citizen had a right to be beheaded with the sword when condemned to death.

It seems just possible, then, that there is fact reflected in the tradition that Paul was beheaded outside the city, beyond the present church of St. Paul, and buried under the altar by the Tiber.

CHAPTER XX

PAUL'S WORLD-WIDE MESSAGE.

PAUL'S passionate devotion to Christ expressed itself in deeds and words suitable to the first century, many of which have been found helpful in following centuries, but his amazing influence since his day is due primarily to the fact that he saw and acted upon fundamental principles inherent in the Gospel of Christ true for all time.

He sees that Jesus' life and death means that God is searching for His own in man, and that man's spirit may be consciously united with God's spirit if the divine in man's nature will respond with faith and love. Paul sees this as the prophet sees, with the inner eyes of spiritual experience, and, therefore, he sets it forth, not theoretically, but practically:

"The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God." [1]

Even more clearly than those who had walked and talked with Jesus does Paul perceive the inner Spirit of the Master, and know that no life can be God-like without being Christ-like in spirit. [2] Nor can the Christ-like life result from the imitation of his example or anything short of the possession of his spirit:

"The spirit is life."
"Christ is in you." [3]

Paul's world-wide message is, then, primarily that the

[1] Rom. viii. 16.
[2] Rom. viii. 9-11, 14, 17.
[3] Rom. viii. 10.

Spirit of God manifest in Jesus Christ is waiting to be manifest in us.

Paul not only thus shows the practical meaning of Jesus' life for life, but in dealing with the hindrances to the manifestation of his God-like spirit in us he renders an especial service by his interpretation of the meaning of the death and resurrection of Jesus to every-day living. Aside from any theories concerning God's world-plans which any of Paul's words may imply, it is certain that he sees clearly that Jesus' death and resurrection mean for each person death to everything evil, life to the divine within.[4] He knows this in his own experience and sees it in others and by this insight removes the "stumbling block" of the cross by making it primarily an inner experience. Sacrifice must take place within the spirit of everyone hoping to live the spiritual life—sacrifice not only for the self-development, but for others, even as Christ loved us and gave himself for us.[5]

It follows from Paul's continual emphasis upon the inner life that no outer forms are of importance except in so far as they affect the spirit. He evidently has no objection to baptism nor to partaking of the supper in remembrance of the Lord's death, but he lays no emphasis upon these as necessary to spiritual life, and he is deeply concerned when their observance is so conducted as to fail to contribute to the true spirit of Christ.[6] Forms may be kept or not kept as people prefer; the only thing of importance is that they shall not be allowed to take the place of "faith,"[7] which is the true attitude of the soul seeking God. Worship, and, indeed, all life is based upon the fact derived from experience that,

"To each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit."[8]

[4] Rom. vi., etc.

[5] Rom.

[6] 1 Cor. xi. 20ff; Rom. vi. 3ff.

[7] Gal. ii. 1-21.

[8] 1 Cor. xii. 7.

Acting upon this principle it is not strange that Paul developed no fixed system of ethics or theology, but pointed rather to the incentive for both—love to God and man. Though his mind reached out eagerly for an understanding of the ways of God, and he used many of the lines of thought given him by his education and surroundings to help him construct his explanations, yet he fully recognised that much of such "knowledge" shall be done away, and that we are only gradually attaining to an understanding fellowship with God. Love is the one attitude of the spirit that can be depended on both to lead one toward truth and to help one to decide upon the right conduct in all the variety of possible actions which life presents.

"Love never faileth.
But whether there be prophecies, they shall be done away;
Whether there be tongues, they shall cease;
Whether there be knowledge, it shall be done away.
For we know in part,
And we prophesy in part:
But when that which is perfect is come,
That which is in part shall be done away.

"When I was a child
I spake as a child,
I felt as a child,
I thought as a child:
Now that I am become a man
I have put away childish things.

"For now we see in a mirror,
In a riddle;
But then face to face:
Now I know in part;
But then shall I fully know
Even as also I have been fully known.

"But now abideth
Faith, hope, love,
These three;
But the greatest of these is love."[9]

But why is Paul so sure of Love? Because he knows the Love of God manifest in the face of Jesus Christ, transforming his own life and radiating to men. This inner experience of God he cannot doubt, and this certainty shows life with all its uncertainties to be at its heart divine.

"It is God . . .
Who shined in our hearts,
To give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God,
In the face of Jesus Christ."[10]

[9] 1 Cor. xiii. 8-13. For the rest of Prof. Deissman's translation of this chapter, see p. 182 and p. 192.

[10] 2 Cor. iv. 6.

A TABLE OF TENTATIVE DATES IN THE LIFE OF PAUL.

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Cæsarean Imprisonment[7]	58-59
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[1] Allowance has been made in this table for the Jewish method of counting each part of a year to which an event belonged, as though it were a full year.

[2] See note on Aretas, p. 59.

[3] See note on the fourteen years, p. 86.

[4] See note on famine, p. 97.

[5] See note on length of time in Thessalonica, ch. XII., p. 121.

[6] See note on Expulsion of Jews from Rome, p. 140. See note on Gallio, p. 157.

[7] See note on Felix and Festus, p. 221.

[8] See Note on Nero, p. 241.

ROME
Three Taverns
Appii Forum
Capua
Puteoli
Naples
Pompei
ITALY
Brundisium
ADRIATIC SEA
ILLYRICUM
Dyrrachium
MACEDON
Bercea
Dium
CORCYRA
THESSALY
ACHAIA
Delphi
Gulf of Corinth
Corinth
Cenchr
Rhegium
SICILY
Syracuse
Melita (Malta)
MEDITERRA
SYRTIS
Cyrene
CYRENE
PART OF
ROMAN E
SHOWING
JOURNEYS OF

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